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Editor's Notes

In States composed of Island Groups, inevitably the most slices of the development cake go to the Island where the seat of Government is based – this is especially so when local resources are few and needs are many. Inevitably out-islanders begrudge this distribution so favourable to the centre. In this Issue M. J. Campbell looks at the situation in the Solomons as independence approaches and discusses the recent reforms which, he believes, provide a sensible measure of devolution from Honiara on Guadalcanal to the other islands forming the Protectorate.

While the Solomons suffer minimally from rural/urban migration, in Malaysia the pace of urban growth is exceedingly rapid. Dr. Cheema studies some of the problems this involves and goes on to suggest how best to improve the inadequate services presently provided to Malaysian town-dwellers, suggesting that one way would be by allowing a greater devolution of power from the centre, both Federal and State, to the Urban Authorities. Many perhaps will feel a major requirement here is the restoration of electoral practices so that the voice of the people can be genuinely heard at local level, albeit Dr Cheema explains the reasons why this has not been done.

With donor countries and International Agencies according the highest priority in their aid programmes to rural development, it is an appropriate time to include A. McCallum's overview of the strategies involved and the importance of the Forestry sub-sector.

Tony Kirk-Greene has now established himself as a foremost authority on the literature, the personalities of anglophone Africa's pre- and post-independence administrators, and their work-load. We are glad to publish in this Number his appreciation of studies written on administration in Africa during the past quarter of a century. 'In sum', as he puts it, 'the benefit to African studies generated by the past 25 years of public administration in Africa can be compellingly assessed by the range and quality of its literary expression'.

Finally Stephen Nancoo examines the recently established National Advisory Council of Trinidad and Tobago with a sharply critical eye. He suggests that the Council is being asked to do too much over too wide a field, both short-term and long-term, with its likely effectiveness inhibited by the breadth and scope of its functions.

Devolution in the Solomon Islands—A Study of Major Reforms

M. J. CAMPBELL*

Background to the Reform

The development of local government in the Solomon Islands initially attempted to follow the common British colonial pattern. In the first years of Colonial rule the handful of administrators began to appoint local headmen as their agents in the islands. Unlike much of the African and Polynesian experience Melanesia proved difficult to administer in this respect because the pattern of leadership was complex and often difficult to identify. Leadership in Melanesia is amorphous, being non-hereditary and depending on a person's personal qualities as shown through those institutions which the societies particularly value.[1] In general a person becomes a 'big man' in his village by his own efforts. There were however a division of leadership functions, those of ceremonial, of war and of religion. The early colonial administrators were often forced to choose in ignorance of local leadership or used those villagers with whom they could communicate.[2] In the early 1920's as a second step a native tax was introduced and officially appointed village headmen specifically empowered to collect it. Vested with this new power the headmen could and sometimes did abuse their office and increased the alienation between government and people.

Matters came to a head on the island of Malaita in 1927 when the District Commissioner, a cadet and an escort of police were murdered during a tax patrol. In the subsequent official enquiry the investigator Sir H. C. Moorhouse expressed the opinion that one contributory cause to the tragedy was the poor administration of the 1922 regulation.[3] Headmen had been appointed precipitately and in most cases they were unacceptable to the people. Still prejudiced towards the concept of indirect rule Moorhouse felt that to overcome the problem greater pains should be taken to allow an indirect, traditionally founded element in administration.

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[1]Belsham, C. S., 'Native Politics in the Solomon Islands', *Pacific Affairs* XX 1947, p 188.

[2]A parallel case in British colonial history of the same era was the appointment of Warrant Chiefs in Eastern Nigeria.

[3]Moorhouse Report, pp 13-20.

Thereafter greater care was taken in selection. Unavoidably however co-operation with the government was often equated with ambitions towards authoritarianism and not in accord with the values of Melanesian society.[1] The concept of village and district headmen was always considered to be but a step towards more sophisticated institutions. In 1939 the anthropologist Hogbin came out strongly in favour of native councils and courts as a return to the solid foundations of the past.[2] In 1940 moves were made to introduce institutions on the lines of the African native authorities and for two years the district officers experimented in their areas with local courts on a trial basis. All agreed that a system of native courts administering customary law and dealing with minor offences against the peace was urgently needed. They were formally established in 1942 with immediate success.

Had the second world war not interrupted administration and the Solomons not found itself in the midst of one of the major fields of conflict, it is possible that there might have been a smooth transition towards effective local government in the islands with the local councils providing a valuable seedbed for future national leadership as, for example, occurred in Nigeria and Sierra Leone.[3] As it was, the battlegrounds of Guadalcanal and New Georgia showed the Solomon Islanders a new world and provided them with social and political upheaval that shattered the old traditional way of life. The wealth and organisation of the Allies and in particular the Americans, stimulated ideas that the Melanesians themselves could be the owners of such wealth for their own. A number of quasi-religious movements sprang up, hostile to the administration and in most cases the Missions, and aimed at obtaining the material benefits open to the Europeans. Of these the most important to the Solomons was the movement known as Marching, or Masina, Rule. The movement favoured non-government leadership and succeeded in fostering a new political elite which knit together large areas hitherto unaligned. Within twelve months the organisation's leaders had managed to establish what amounted to a pan-island government with highly-disciplined units operating on co-operative lines through formal councils.[4]

Marching Rule proved difficult to eradicate and remained a powerful anti-government force until 1950. The ultimate success of the British government in dealing with Marching Rule lay in two factors:

i the administration's refusal to abandon positive measures and attempts to canalise the dynamic energies of the movement, both economic and social, into useful development; and

ii rifts in the organisation's leadership and its subsequent deterioration into a cargo cult that failed to fulfil its promises.

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[1]Healy, A. M., 'Administration in the British Solomon Islands', *Journal of Administration Overseas*, 1966.

[2]Hogben, H. I., 'Experiments in Civilisation', RKP-London, 1939, pp 235-9.

[3]Wraith, R. E., 'Local Government in West Africa, G.A. and U.', London, 1964, Chap 2.

[4]Malaita Annual Report, 1947, Auki, pp 3-5.

The movement revealed the organisational capacity of the Solomon Islanders and despite opposition from Fiji and London the Resident Commissioner took the bold step of building up District Councils on the basis of those already established effectively elsewhere.[1]

Emboldened by the unexpected success of local councils in the opposition areas and of the apparent new ability of Melanesians to co-operate outside parochial boundaries the government set up the new district bodies by law. The new councils in fact provided a successful and useful forum for breaking down clan barriers and readily accepted wider responsibilities. In 1962 the government issued a policy statement setting out in greater detail central-local relationships[2] and this was followed in the following year by the promulgation of a Local Government Ordinance. Under this legislation local councils became wholly elected and could be set up either for a sub-district or to cover an entire major island. Activities undertaken by the councils fell into six main categories: primary schooling, rural health services, sanitary facilities in villages, communications (including radio communication), water supplies and markets. Above all the government set out to emphasize the need for close co-operation between the central government agents, particularly the DC's, and the councils.

Changes in local government between the legal institution of local government councils in 1953 and the review of local government to coincide with constitutional change almost twenty years later show increased responsibility, a firm pattern of councils serving all the islands and a marked degree of sophistication.

In 1960 a new element was introduced by the establishment of a Legislative council for the country. Initially local members on this body were appointed but in 1967 direct elections were held in thirteen constituencies, using the local council electoral rolls. A second constitution in 1970 extended the elected membership to seventeen and instead of working to the classical Legislative Council/Executive Council formula operated a Governing Council combining the functions of both and setting up five committees on a portfolio basis. One of these, Internal Affairs, took over the responsibility for local government. In 1972 the Governing Council set up a Select Committee to examine further constitutional advance including, *inter alia*, the place of local government in a new constitution designed to lead to self-government.

The report of the Special Select Committee published in November 1972 (Govco paper 89/1972) emphasised the need to strengthen local government administration and applied for an outside examination of the existing pattern. The committee made a number of suggestions designed to strengthen the relationship between central and local government including the need for a separate portfolio and a greater devolution of power.

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[1]Based largely on the Kenya African District Courts Ordinance. 12/1950.

[2]White Paper: 'The Respective Functions of Local Councils and the Central Government', Chief Secretary, The South Pacific Commission, Honiara, 1962.

The pattern of local government in 1970 consisted of 21 local councils and one urban council (Honiara) in the four administrative Districts. They varied in population between Malaita with 53,000 people and Sikiana with only 190 and in terms of local budgets between $220,000 and $500. It was obvious that many of these small authorities could never be viable units and that some amalgamation was going to be necessary if local councils were to be given greater responsibility for development. In 1972 there had been an encouraging sign that such amalgamation was a possibility. In the Western District the five small local councils agreed to pool their resources and operate as a single local government unit. Most important in this decision was the fact that this suggestion had come from the groups themselves and had not been the result of ideas sown by the District Commissioner.

The Reform Itself

In examining the need for change a number of factors were identified that seemed to favour an extension of political decentralisation. One of those which interested the governing Council was the experience from other countries where the population was multi-ethnic in nature and there existed a number of linguistic and cultural groups within the one state, and which had favoured the concept that successful government depends upon a decentralised system which permits local aspirations full reign in order to preserve national unity on major issues. Two outstanding examples of this are Switzerland and Yugoslavia and a parallel case where decentralization appeared to provide the only road to national unity was the neighbouring country of Papua New Guinea. Under a system of government allowing for a wide degree of devolution there would seem less danger of local inter-cultural rivalries becoming aggravated at the centre over parochial needs and the division of available resources.

A study for the reorganisation and revitalisation of local government was undertaken on the basis of the acceptance of the following principles:

i that local government should instigate development designed:

a to provide an infrastructure to promote and strengthen economic activity and local prosperity; and

b to offer those social services calculated to promote and maintain higher standards of living within the local communities.

ii that local government should be the main agency for services and their expansion within its area and the co-ordinator of all forms of public service; and

iii that local government must be recognised by all agencies of central government and the legislature as the principal agency for progress within its area and at the same time an integral part of government as a whole, operating as an effective and necessary partner with the central administration for the promotion of national government.

The resultant proposals, now almost fully implemented,[1] provided for eight rural councils and one urban council.[2] The electoral wards of the rural councils were to provide the basis for the promotion of community development through the medium of village or area committees. The new pattern gave a national average of 1,000 persons per ward or about seven local council members to one Governing Council member. Three aspects of the changes emerged as pivotal to the success of the reorganisation. These concerned representation, resources and relationships. The question of *representation* raises the old dilemma of democracy and efficiency. How on the one hand to keep units of local government sufficiently small to allow meaningful participation and a feeling of involvement in public affairs and on the other sufficiently large as to be financially viable and administratively effective. There is unfortunately no applicable formula in terms of size or population to guide a government establishing a pattern of local authorities. The formula for the most effective unit is different for every country and indeed for almost every unit. Maddick, querying how political accountability at the national level can be satisfactorily formed in a largely illiterate society, stresses the relevance of the traditional arguments for local government and suggests that the methods of the community development movement provide a new way to foster popular control.[3] The classical arguments for local democratic government, summarised in terms of local knowledge for local affairs, ready contact between representatives, administrators and people and a training ground for representatives and electors alike in the realities of government are still true and appropriate for developing countries.

More recently Leemans examining the changing patterns of local government and the element of participation in developmental activities supports Maddick's concern with community involvement and brings evidence to support the need for close linkage between local government and community development in the rural areas. Awareness of the significance of local government in stimulating citizen participation in social and economic development, Leemans affirms, appears to be particularly strong in socialist countries and developing nations. In the former the full burden of development devolves upon government authorities as (unlike Western Europe and North America) there is no private sector which can undertake certain tasks. In developing countries the private sector is often very weak, private enterprise scarcely exists and voluntary associations, with the possible exception of religious bodies, are extremely rare. Local government and central government field administration consequently often provide the only framework within which citizen participation in public activities can best be stimulated and put into effect.[4]

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[1]Development of Local Government, Plan of Operations, 1974-77, The Secretariat Honiara, Oct., 1973.

[2]The proposed pattern was for seven rural Councils but in one case amalgamation was rejected because of traditional enmity.

[3]Maddick, H., 'Democracy, Decentralisation and Development', Asia Publishing House, 1963, p 58.

[4]Leemans, A. F., 'Changing Patterns of Local Government', IULA, 1970, pp 43-55.

Community level involvement in government in Melanesia seems a workable proposition. Once the selection of local leaders (and similarly, representatives) has been made traditionally they have a responsibility to their people and the people to their leaders. Such authorities as Malinowski and Ivens bear this concept out.[1] The principle of marrying community development and local government is not new and it has been used with success in India and in other Asian countries.[2] In the Solomon Islands the community development concept implies an informal and flexible type of organisation at the level of groups of villages, electoral wards or language areas. It is recognised that traditional communication, co-operation and popular decision-making tend to wither away or withdraw in the face of legal or administrative formality. Area committees embodying such informal community organisation have already been established in fact in some islands with success. A realistic development of these bodies at the true community level is considered vital to the success of the new proposals and they will be set up in all the redefined council areas as a matter of priority.

The membership of these committees is left as much as possible to the community. Some are large with representatives from all the main families, others consist of a few recognised leaders. The elected council member for the area is on the committee, though not necessarily as chairman, and provides the direct contact to the higher body. One of the duties of the committee is to supervise and stimulate collection of the basic council rate. A portion of this will be set aside for direct use by the committee on community projects in its area and there will be no restriction placed on the way this money is used.

Inevitably some problems have arisen as a result of the introduction of a new pattern of authority. The desired grouping of councils is based upon a minimum of 10,000 population size. The islands of Guadalcanal and Malaita stand out as large homogenous units but the amalgamation of small island groups into effective units is politically difficult. Some have refused to amalgamate with neighbours because of traditional suspicion and hostility. The government hopes to achieve amalgamation eventually and in the meantime allows the rebels to function separately on limited resources. In most cases however islands have agreed to bury individual differences in the hope that larger more viable units will provide the development they require.

Where area Committees have successfully established themselves they have been active in mobilising community labour for self-help projects (feeder roads and water supplies) and in settling local land disputes. Much however remains to be done in the less accessible areas and a recent conference on local government pressed for guide lines for the grass roots committees to follow. Government, it

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[1]Russell, T., 'The 1970 Constitution for the British Solomon Islands', 4th Waigani Seminar, The Politics of Melanesia, Port Moresby, 1970.

[2]The former basic democracies of Pakistan and the Panchayati Raj of India are good examples of community development organisations wedded to the local government structure.

considered, had not come down to the village level to explain its policies to the people and it was time that they did so.[1]

Council *resources* fall into two broad categories: staff and funds. One of the main stumbling blocks to successful local government has always been inadequate and ineffective staffing. Local councils fail to attract the best talent into their organisations because they cannot compete with the central government, or the private sector in terms of salary rates or career opportunity. A unified local government service for the executive grades helps to overcome this problem but this method implies massive government financial assistance which is not often forthcoming.

The concept of marrying government field services in with local government activities at the council level clarifies the staff pattern, for all staff resources, except those connected with direct central government research, will come under the administrative control of the local council. There will thus be three types of staff operating in a locality – the unified local government staff which will include the key posts of council executive officer, the council treasurer and the council works supervisor; seconded staff which will include all government field officers seconded by the government to operate under the direct control of the council and locally employed staff making up the lower grades of the labour force. The idea of government field services coming under the direct administration of a local elective body instead of a departmental head of the central secretariat is a revolutionary one in the colonial context and it is one which can be frustrated by overt opposition by departments or, at best, by only half-hearted support. A detailed study into the implications of the scheme however appears to have persuaded the technical departments of the feasibility of the idea and even a grudging admittance of the advantages to be gained from such administrative reorganisation. Initially heads of the technical services are not anxious to lose administrative control of their professional officers and the latter are fearful that their professional judgement will not be given adequate respect or consideration by a locally elected body. The classical image of local councils operating in leaf houses administered by poorly-trained clerks and made up of illiterate valetudinarians as councillors is not easy to dispel overnight. The elected minister at the centre is now accepted but his brother as a local councillor is still viewed with suspicion!

The movement of government staff to Councils began in January 1975 when most of the District Administration functions were handed over. Councils were initially worried that there will be a split loyalty when officials were posted to councils on secondment but still paid by the National government. This is seen however to be a temporary reaction which will settle itself in time. Inevitably there have been a number of changes and repostings in the first few months by government departments and this has given rise to the suspicion by councils that, despite the guarantees given earlier, it is the inexperienced staff, both local and expatriate,

[1]Report of the 1975 Local Government Conference, Honiara, November, 1975, Ministry of Home Affairs.

that are selected for local government service. Certainly a parallel situation occurred in Papua New Guinea when the system of local government advisers under a Commissioner of Local Government was established in 1964. This is seen as a national problem of scarce man-power resources that will improve as trained local staff become available.

It is inevitable that some aspects of the plan of operations for the transfer of staff and funds to the new system will undergo a number of teething problems. The two complex transfers, Education and Medical Services, were under way in 1976 and are behind schedule despite the generous lead-in period. A number of setbacks have occurred and the new councils feel that in some cases they are being forced to accept government programmes that are either unpopular or financially unsound. However the change is progressing steadily and the government appears anxious to make it a success.

Much will depend upon the calibre of the executives of the council if the government is to promote the new image of local government. They must be capable of operating without the traditional 'steel brace' of District Administration. This in turn gives rise to a further question. If the council is in fact to be the main developmental agency in its locality what is then the role of the former co-ordinator of the public sector, the District Commissioner?

A study of the duties of DC's revealed that apart from certain judiciary functions all these tasks can now be absorbed by the local council. Should the office then be abolished? Not, it was thought, initially, for during the formative years of the new councils there will still be need for a generalist to operate in a co-ordinating role. The District Commissioners remain in the old District headquarters under the title of Government Agents.[1] They have attempted to stand aside from active participation in Council operations and to preserve an image of non-interference. In two cases the present shortages in trained staff have in fact necessitated their acting as council clerks. As government Agents they have few specific tasks but it seems important to the local communities that they remain at least until the transfers are completed if for no other reasons than to alleviate the frustrations of the Council clerks and to generally grease the wheels of change.

The problem of funding for councils has taken some time to resolve. Prior to the reorganisation most councils were raising only a portion of their revenue from local sources and relying heavily upon government subsidy. In the larger councils (eg Malaita, Guadalcanal) the central government grants in 1973 formed two-thirds of the revenue and in the smaller councils the percentage was even higher.

Local government finance is often considered as a separate entity from that of the central government. In a country relying largely on subsistence farming with

[1]The former D.C., now Government Agent, has no *specific* role as adviser to the new Councils except as the co-ordinator for the remaining Government services *unless* he is temporarily appointed as Council Clerk. Unofficially of course, he is still an adviser and a support for the new bodies.

nationally manipulated cash cropping markets, this dichotomy is unrealistic. Limited opportunity for investment in the Solomons and a poorly developed locally sponsored private sector ensure that the majority of investment is still in the hands of the government and the statutory bodies. It is therefore more reasonable to run central and local revenue (and therefore taxation) together and to subject them to overall control to ensure that they are complementary to each other, rather than as separate elements with separate control systems.[1] The disparity in levels and estimated growth rates strengthens this argument. Local council tax revenues are only 1/10th those of central government which were estimated to reach $3.4 million by 1974. Between 1969 and 1973 government revenues from personal income tax have increased by 89%. By comparison over the same period local councils' rates have remained almost static.[2]

It follows from this that the question of what kinds of revenue should 'belong' to local or central government is simply a matter of what can be most reasonably assessed and most cheaply and effectively collected by each. All forms of taxation are the concern of government, which then finances central and local levels of operation.

The new system of local government will greatly increase the extent to which it becomes centrally financed. The grant system is now radically restructured and will rely on rate-counterpart and services' grants both of which will allow councils greater freedom in their administration. The central government will also meet the cost of salaries for all unified and seconded staff. These changes in financial resources reflect the new partnership approach in central-local relationships.

This leads to the third element of change: that of *relationship*. Local government to date has remained in the role of a wayward child to a father-like central administration. This is not an uncommon image in developing countries where local councils are seen as service agencies to be kept under strict surveillance. The native affairs secretariats and the central treasuries have together imposed regulations and restrictive edicts upon councils which have served to effectively stifle local initiative and innovation. On the local level itself the District Commissioner, or his representative as local government adviser watches the use of funds and guides the council's debates.[3] Technical departmental officers, nominally advisers, became the regulators of the councils' funds and staff. In comparison with some countries the Solomon Islands has a good record of central government relationships with its councils but there is still that degree of control on the one hand that frustrates the initiative of (and in turn the enthusiasm for), the council by its members and on the other hand leads to its identification by the citizens themselves as a government agency.

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[1]The Government Agent is no longer the watch dog for the Government Auditor, the relationship now is between the Council and the Auditor-General or the Treasury direct.

[2]Operational plan for local government, Chap 9-Financial Plan. Honiara, 1973.

[3]An interesting practical example of this is contained in R. C. Crocombe's article: 'Local Government in New Guinea: An Example of Conflict between Policy and Practice', *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol III, 1968, pp 131-134.

The public image of a local authority is seen as crucial to its effectiveness as an organisation. Unless the council is accepted and supported by the area committees and the citizens at large, all the proposed injections of the capital and staff will be largely wasted. It must cease to be a 'foreign' institution and become 'home grown'.

Fostering this change in approach is perhaps the most difficult task to bring about. The personal attitude of key individuals can contribute significantly to the plan's success or failure. The joint enthusiasms of the DC and the Council President in the Western District have carried the reorganisation successfully through its first stages and the population is now fully committed to the new council and a redirection of administration. The first Chief Minister promoted central political co-operation and support, for, in his previous position of Chairman of the Internal Affairs Committee, he was responsible for the successful passage of the White Paper and the operational plan through the Governing Council in 1973.

Guidance of the new authorities from the centre also implies a new approach and a change in organisation. In all matters affecting its constitution, resources, overall performance and, where necessary, the exercise of the sanctions against it, local government needs a single overlord in the central government: the lessons learnt in the last ten years are very clear in this respect. The portfolio came within the ministry of Home Affairs initially in the hands of the Chief Minister. It is faced with the objective of a successful implementation of a multitude of envisaged social and political changes by 1977 and its most important task is to ensure that all these are clearly understood and accepted by both the councils and by the departments at the centre.

The initial impetus for reform must be maintained and confidence for central government action built up in the new councils. This is a different but equally difficult task to that of promoting radical reform. It calls for patience, commitment and flexibility. The Ministry of Home Affairs is accused by council clerks and their councils of paternalism, of not giving enough discretion in finance and staff arrangements and yet at the same time for not being tough enough with difficult departments. It is expected to deal with all the unanticipated loose ends and to face the unrewarding task of negotiating compromises between individual councils and departments of government during a period in which councils are beginning to flex their muscles.

A number of new relationships will arise as the implementation of the new proposals get under way. Those of the area committees with the mother councils, the council control over seconded staff, the role of the executive committee *vis-a-vis* the full council and a number of others. All will have their teething problems before the new pattern has crystallised. It is a sufficiently complex task to seek to understand relationships between variables at any time without accentuating their already fluid nature by subjecting them to a process of progressive change. At the present time it would be pure conjecture to predict the implications of these new relationships.

What are the prospects for the future? The Solomon Islands has embarked upon the most ambitious programme of political decentralisation so far in the South Pacific. Moreover it does not appear, like so many countries in the Third World, to have given mere lip-service to devolution but has made a conscious effort to put it into practice. Papua New Guinea has made two attempts at political decentralisation, albeit half-hearted, and is now initiating a third with the feeling, one suspects, that she has a tiger by the tail.

The Solomons new approach to development has a number of political and environmental factors working in its favour. Among these the following stand out as vital to the success of devolution and what may be termed a confederalist approach:

i island based loyalty combined with a growing enthusiasm for council control by the islanders themselves. Honiara is not a Mecca for the young and educated, urban drift is probably the lowest in the Pacific and the home island is often the preferred place of work;

ii an able initiation of reform by the first Chief Minister and his staff and its identification as a national political goal during the period leading to self-government;

iii decentralised and semi-autonomous field services of government forced over a number of years by poor communication problems to relate matters for decision to the District Commissioner and the local council rather than to the central departments in Honiara;

iv a general acceptance by key departments of political decentralisation and the secondment of technical staff to council control within the limits set by essential safeguards;

v the egalitarian Melanesian approach to government which restrains autocratic ruling elites and promotes wide participation in the political process.

In studying these factors it is easy to indicate the political backing as the most telling element in the introduction of reform. It is only with such support that changes of such magnitude in government organisation can get past the paper planning stage and be converted into real action. The danger now lies in the possibility of the new political masters of the Solomons having second thoughts and developing a feeling of distrust towards the new island bodies. It is unfortunately not uncommon for newly-independent states to centralise and retain power over resources at the centre. Indeed some swing towards central control seems very likely. Development finance will inevitably be tied to the Ministry of Finance and this will likely cause tensions between the Councils and Honiara. The British government, for example, as the major contributor to technical assistance, insists on central financial control on any projects receiving British aid.

The government of the Solomon Islands has taken the intelligent step of promoting these changes in the pattern of administration well before independence. Its

wisdom lies in the fact that the new pattern will be firmly seated and accepted before major constitutional and political upheavals take place and divert interest and resources. Once established and backed by the island communities the new local government system has a good chance of survival.

Administrative Responses to Urbanization in Western Malaysia

G. SHABBIA CHEEMA*

Malaysia, like most developing countries of the Third World, has experienced rapid urbanization since World War II. Urban growth in Malaysia can be partially accounted for by the expansion of economic activities in the cities. Another equally important determinant of rapid urbanization was the National Emergency, 1948-60, and the resettlement programmes implemented during this period.[1] In addition, soon after independence the government initiated a strategy to encourage the migration of Malays to urban areas. They were proclaimed 'sons of the soil' in the national policy package and were accorded 'special privileges' to make them partners in the modern sectors of the economy. More recently, the government's New Economic Policy (NEP) designed to restructure Malaysian society 'to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function'[2] has further triggered the townward flow of predominantly rural Malays. Despite an increasingly large amount of public sector expenditure on rural development, urbanization and urban development are clearly the corner stones of the NEP. This is substantiated by the fact that the major programmes designed to achieve racial economic balance include shifting rural Malays to urban areas, developing new growth centres in new areas, creating a Malay entrepreneurial and commercial community, and increasing Malay participation in modern sector activities such as ownership and control of assets in commerce and industry.[3]

The increased pace of urbanization has been accompanied by greater demands on urban local agencies in the major cities for the provision of local services and an improved standard of living. To ensure public health, adequate water and sewage facilities need to be provided. Public markets and parks must be maintained. Housing shortages, particularly for low income groups, are a problem in almost all cities. New schools need to be built to accommodate the increasing urban population. Other services for which demand has substantially increased include

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[1]Suresh Narayanan, 'Patterns and Implications of Urban Change in Peninsular Malaysia', *The Malayan Economic Review*, vol 20, no 2 (Oct, 1975), p 68.

[2]*Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan*, 1971-75 (Kuala Lumpur: The Government Press, 1973) p 1.

[3]*Second Malaysia Plan*, 1971-75 (Kuala Lumpur: The Government Press, 1971) pp 45-48.

transportation and fire control. In addition, the townward flow of population has led to a large number of squatter settlements. In Kuala Lumpur, for example, it was estimated that in 1967-68 there were approximately 26,500 squatter households which is about 32% of the total number of households in the area.[1] By 1973 the number of squatter households had further increased to 29,000. The resettlement of such a large population is a mammoth task which must necessarily fall to the various agencies of the government located in the city. Due to the relatively high political consciousness of urban residents, local agencies are under constant pressure to improve existing services. In Kuala Lumpur, for example, even those who are living in squatter areas have established political party branches in their areas and attempt, often successfully, to influence the decisions of government agencies located in the city. Curtailing new squatter settlements has been found to be a difficult task.

Urban local authorities have been granted a wide range of powers to provide urban services. These include the control and care of all public places, the power to make new public places; control over markets; power to ensure public sanitation; control and prevention of fires; control over cremations and burial places; and the provision of sanitary services. Under the Local Government Act, 1976 additional powers have been relegated to local authorities. There are, for example, provisions enabling the local authority to erect and maintain shops, residential houses and flats; to carry out development for residential, commercial, industrial purposes or any other undertaking as determined by the local authority; to make by-laws as considered necessary by the local authority for the maintenance of the health, safety and well-being of its inhabitants; and to undertake rating and evaluation of properties. The formal granting of these powers to local authorities, however, does not necessarily mean that the latter are actually performing these functions.

The urban local authorities have in fact failed to provide adequate urban services. Indeed, the scope of their activities within the national development strategy is narrow. The multi-racial nature of Malaysian society necessitates a type of local government which does not generate communal tension. Therefore, elective local authorities were abolished in the early 1960s.[2] Another factor which limits the

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[1]Ishak Shari, 'Urban Poverty and Urban Life in Kuala Lumpur - A Case Study', paper presented to Third Malaysian Economic Association Convention, August 21-24, 1976.

[2]For a general discussion of factors which led to the abolition of elective local governments, see Paul Tennant, 'The Decline of Elective Local Government in Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, vol 13, no 1-6 (1973) 347-365. The elective system at the local level has not been restored. The Local Government Act, 1976, empowers state governments to appoint the members of urban local authorities from among politicians, businessmen, professionals, and other community leaders. The Act does not fix any ratio between official and non-official members. Though there are variations among the states, in almost all urban local authorities, heads of government departments are *ex-officio* members. Similarly, in all urban local authorities, the chairman of the local council is a government official. The chairman can veto a decision made by the local council. All this gives the government officials a predominant position in the decision making process of urban local Authorities.

role of local authorities is the increasing trend in Malaysia towards greater centralization in program planning and implementation.[1] The statutory bodies at both the national and state levels have come to play a vital role in the developmental process of the country. Local authorities lack skilled manpower. In many cases, they are unable to hire people with professional qualifications such as engineers and accountants. Finally, urban local authorities have not been able to improve their resource base. There are many reasons for this: state governments are very reluctant to grant additional sources of revenue to local authorities; proposals for raising the level of local taxes are usually vehemently opposed by politicians; local authorities have not been able to evaluate property, thus reducing the total amount of taxes collected; many local authorities are unable to take strict action against those who default on the payment of taxes because of pressure from local and state level politicians who do not want to alienate their constituents. Most urban local authorities in Malaysia have deficit budgets. As Table 1 shows, in each of the selected cities the total amount of expenditure exceeds revenue. In certain cases, a substantial portion of the local council's revenue is derived from federal and state government grants. The financial dependence of local authorities has considerably weakened their bargaining position for greater autonomy and has, in fact, paved the way for greater administrative controls from state governments.

Table 1: *Income and Expenditure of Selected Urban Local Authorities in West Malaysia*

City	*Year*	*Total Revenue*	*Total Expenditure*
Butterworth	1975	5,956,683	6,363,317
Kuala Lumpur	1972	49,195,000	51,121,000
Kota Bharu	1974	1,426,389	1,475,436
George Town	1975	49,577,616	66,432,754
Petaling Jaya	1975	7,600,000	8,470,000
Taiping	1977 (est.)	2,576,146	3,402,689

The lack of administrative and financial viability on the part of urban local authorities in Malaysia has led to a situation in which the agencies of the federal and state governments have come to play a vital role in providing local services. Federal government agencies responsible for providing services to urban residents include the Education Department, Transportation Department, Social Welfare Department, General Hospital, Public Works Department, Post Office, and National Electricity Board. In addition, many cities have branches of national statutory bodies such as the Urban Development Authority (UDA), and Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat[2] (MARA). State agencies include the State Development Corporation, Water Works, and Fire Department. Some urban services however, are

[1]This is discernible if one examines the policy-making process in Malaysia. See, for example, Elyas Omar, 'Policy Analysis and Development in Malaysia' in Asian Centre for Development Administration, *Policy Analysis and Development* (Kuala Lumpur: Asian Centre for Development Administration, 1975).

[2]MARA and UDA, along with other statutory bodies have been established to assist Malays so that they can become effective participants in the modern sectors of the economy.

provided solely through the efforts of urban local authorities. Occasionally, local authorities cooperate with agencies of the federal and state governments in providing a particular service. The relative role of local, state, and federal agencies in the provision of eleven selected services can be seen in Table 2.

We find that there are indeed variations among cities regarding the scope of services provided by the local authority. In George Town and Kuala Lumpur, for example, the local authority is involved in providing nine out of eleven selected services. On the other hand, the local authority in Kuala Trengganu is providing only four of these services. Kota Bahru and Petaling Jaya local councils are currently providing five of these services. This illustrates the existence of different levels of development among urban local authorities. In particular, George Town and Kuala Lumpur have a broader resource base and the administrative capacity to provide manifold services to urban residents.

It is obvious that local authorities[1] are not performing all of the functions which have formally been assigned to them under the Local Government Act, 1976. The services actually provided by most local authorities include transportation, sewage and drainage, parks and recreation, markets, and public sanitation. The state governments in most cases are involved in providing public housing, water supply, education and health services. The state and national statutory bodies are, among other things, providing public housing and attempting to resettle the large number of urban squatters. The federal government departments are primarily responsible for health services, education, and fire protection. Local authorities, state governments and the federal government collaborate in providing public housing, and health services. In the case of most other services the three levels of government cooperate with each other. In Malaysia the trend towards centralization in program planning and implementation is substantiated by the fact that out of eleven selected urban services only four – sewage and drainage, parks and recreation, markets, and public sanitation – are provided exclusively by urban local authorities. Many important services such as public housing, health services, transportation, education, and water supply are either entirely or predominantly the province of state and federal government agencies.

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[1]The lack of drive on the part of urban local authorities in Malaysia can be attributed to many factors. First, in the national development strategy the local authorities are not utilized as important instruments of development. Thus, their role, as perceived by the national government, is narrow in scope. Second, the resources made available by the Federal and State governments to the urban local authorities are clearly inadequate. A major portion of the Federal government's expenditure in the cities is chanelled through public enterprise such as the Urban Development Authority (UDA). Third, an increasing trend toward centralization in the Federation of Malaysia has considerably weakened the position of state governments. The latter, therefore, are very reluctant to grant more powers to urban local authorities Fourth, the lack of direct representation of the people in the local councils somewhat reduces the capacity of the urban local authorities to have effective communication links with the people. In many cities, the urban local authorities are functioning as a government department, with non-official members playing a nominal role.

Table II: *Intergovernmental Involvement in the Provision of Urban Services in Selected Malaysian Cities*

Service	Alor Star	Butterworth	George Town	Ipoh	Kuala Lumpur	Kuala Trengganu	Kota Bharu	Petaling Jaya
Transportation	L, N	L, N	L, N	L, N	L, N	N	L, N	N
Water Supply	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Sewage and Drainage	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Public Housing	SS	L, SS	L, SS	L, SS	L, SS, NS	SS	SS	SS
Parks and Recreation	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Health Services	L, S, N	L, S, N	L, S, N	L, S, N	L, N	S, N	S, N	L, N
Education	S, N	S, N	L, S, N	S, N	L, S, N	S, N	S, N	S, N
Markets	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Police	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Fire Protection	N	S	L	N	L, N	N	S	N
Public Sanitation	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L

L=Local Authority S=State Government N=National Government Department SS=State Statutory Body
NS=National Statutory Body

The rapid urbanization of Malaysia, the failure of urban local authorities adequately to provide services, and, subsequently, the increased involvement by state and national agencies have many implications for administrative performance. One of these is the growing complexity and difficulty of local planning. Though there is a Town and Country Planning Department in each city, difficulties nevertheless exist in planning for the city in an integrated manner. The planning of state and national agencies may encompass more than one city since some of these agencies cover whole districts. Furthermore, their planning is restricted to their own departments. Planning by local authorities is subject to the approval of the state government. These agencies also lack sufficient professional staff to undertake this responsibility. In Petaling Jaya, for example, although the Municipal Council has a Planning Unit, it has not been very active. The State Development Corporation has performed this function. In George Town and Ipoh, however, Municipal Councils have played a relatively more important role. In the process of local planning there is a lack of feedback from the people. Even the local authority's annual plan is prepared by official members of the council and is later submitted to the council as a whole for approval.

Another administrative problem which has emerged is the lack of co-ordination among various agencies providing services at the local level. In some cities, education, health, and public housing are provided by the local, state and national agencies. These agencies, however, operate primarily on directives from their own departments. Though there is co-ordination at the national level in the form of a Ministry of Co-ordination, at the implementation stage there is no one agency in the city itself which can effectively orchestrate the efforts of the various agencies. Theoretically, the urban local council is expected to undertake this task. Therefore, heads of various state and federal departments are sometimes made ex-officio members of urban local authorities. In the final analysis, however, these 'official' members of local councils are responsible to their own departments rather than to the chairman of the local council. In some cases, they do not even attend meetings of the local council. Instead, they send a subordinate to these meetings. Their seniority and promotion are dependent upon favourable reports from their parent department rather than the local councils. Therefore, local council as a mechanism for co-ordination among various agencies has not been successful.

Related to co-ordination is the problem of administrative and financial controls. As mentioned earlier, officials of federal and state departments are responsible to their respective departments. However, a city government can also exercise control over them indirectly through the State Secretariat. They are also accountable to the District Officer since they serve both the city and the surrounding rural areas within the district. The financial controls on administrative agencies in cities are exercised by state and federal governments. The more financially dependent an urban local authority is, the more substantial is the control exercised over it. Any expenditure by a local authority must be formally authorized by the state government. Government departments derive their income from the government treasury and are, therefore, answerable to it. Some agencies in the city such as the State Economic Development Corporation derive their revenue from both the national

and state governments subjecting them to dual financial controls. In the past, the District Officer (D.O.) was not only the co-ordinator of all development activities but he also exercised considerable control at the implementation stage.[1] The declining role of the D.O. has now made this task difficult.

Intergovernmental relations in the process of urban administration have become more complex. Clear demarcation between the federal, state and local areas of jurisdiction is lacking. Though the powers of the federal and state governments are specified in the constitution, in actual practice states have lost considerable power to federal government agencies because of centralized planning, schematic budgets and the increasing role of national statutory bodies in the implementation of the New Economic Policy.[2] Similarly, state government agencies have also occasionally encroached upon the powers of urban local authorities. In the early 1960s, for example, when the federal government suspended the election of local authorities, state governments took advantage of the situation and transferred some of the local authority's functions to state government agencies. Such frequent transfers of responsibility have negatively affected the development of local authorities. The consequence of this trend towards centralization in federal-state-local relations is the absence of popular involvement in planning and implementing local programmes. Indirect channels like the State Assembly exist for obtaining feedback on local issues, but such channels are no substitute for an elected, autonomous local authority.

Another implication of rapid urbanization in Malaysia has been the enormous increase in public expenditure necessary to provide public facilities. The failure of many local authorities to mobilize their own revenue from local sources has led to a situation in which the federal and state government either award grants to the local authority or take over a particular service. In either case, the treasury pays for the provision of services. Furthermore, the increase in governmental activities has led to the expansion of administrative machinery which in turn, has made co-ordination among various agencies even more difficult. In some cases, the existing administrative machinery is over-burdened with increasing demands and routine matters. Wages of government servants account for a substantial portion of public expenditure.

Rapid urbanization has also been accompanied by the need for more technical expertise and skilled manpower. Public sector involvement in activities such as transportation and housing has increased the demand for professional staff such as engineers and planners. The availability of professionals has not kept pace with expansion in the activities of government agencies in the cities, thus further increasing the dependence of the government on expatriate officers. Due to the

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[1]Beaglehole, J. H., *The District: A Study in Decentralization in West Malaysia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976) p 98.

[2]For an analysis of the trend towards centralization in Malaysia, see Robert O. Tilman, 'In Quest for Unity: The Centralization Theme in Malaysian Federal State Relations, 1957-75', Occasional Paper, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1976.

shortage of professional staff some development projects delineated in Five-Year Plans are not implemented on schedule. The problem is most acutely felt in the less developed East Coast states and the local authorities of small towns. For the speedy implementation of development programmes in the more backward states, the government has been forced to increase the number of federal government officials seconded to these states. The local authorities in small towns are unable to compete with national and state governments in attracting professional staff.

Increased governmental involvement in providing urban services had had implications for internal functioning of local, state, and federal agencies located in the city. In the case of urban local authorities, there are three types of incumbent of roles, ie generalist administrators, professional staff, and politicians. More often than not, they have different perceptions regarding the functioning of local authorities. Politicians, though nominated by the Chief Minister, consider themselves to be representative of the people and attempt to communicate the needs of their constituents. They usually oppose any increase in local taxes, and are very reluctant to penalize those who default on the payment of taxes to local councils. The administrators, on the other hand, are primarily concerned with the speedy implementation of various development programmes They are under no public pressure and are responsible only to their superiors Clearly, many times there seems to be a lack of understanding among politicians and administrators about each other's role In local councils, the professional staff are usually more sympathetic to the views of the generalist administrator than those of the politician However, in the federal and state agencies the professional staff are in some cases dissatisfied with the predominant position of the generalist administrators, particularly those belonging to the Administrative and Diplomatic Service (ADS)

Conclusion

Rapid urbanization in West Malaysia has posed many administrative challenges. In order to strengthen the ability of urban administrative systems to achieve specified goals, several steps need to be undertaken These include: (1) the establishment in urban areas of an effective mechanism to co-ordinate both at the planning and implementation stage among the various agencies of government; (2) the elimination of overly rigid administrative and financial controls in order to give local agencies greater latitude in programme planning and implementation; and (3) delegating greater powers to urban local authorities and strengthening their administrative and financial capabilities, thus not only ensuring greater feedback from urban residents but also enabling the local authorities to play a more vital role in co-ordinating the activities of all local agencies

Rural Development—Some Basic Considerations and their Application to the Forestry Sector

A. McCALLUM*

I. Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to focus on some critical issues of major importance to the achievement of rural development, and to discuss, from the particular viewpoint of the agricultural sector (in its broadest sense, embracing activities undertaken by people in cropping, livestock, forestry and fisheries), the planning and implementation of programmes and projects for the development of rural areas. The paper first takes a broad look at rural development, its objectives and certain strategic questions. It then considers a series of inter-related action measures needed for the achievement of rural development. Finally, it looks more closely at the implication of rural development policies and plans for development in the forestry sub-sector.

II. Rural Development - Objectives and Strategies

An obvious starting point is to define what we mean by rural development As a general objective, the achievement of improved levels of living favourable to the mass of people living in rural areas is the genuine, ultimate goal of rural development 'Improved levels of living' are defined to encompass full participation of all rural people in the affairs of community and nation; an acceptable level of income realised through access, under favourable terms, to land and water resources and/or productive employment; adequate nutrition, clothing and housing; access to relevant and continuing education and medical facilities; availability of recreational facilities; and a human environment of acceptable quality

Clearly, rural development is a spatial concept; it means the development of an area, a rural area. Equally clearly, it involves activities in many sectors. Any rural development programme is a multi-sectorial programme, involving developments in productive agriculture (interpreted in its broadest sense) and its related services

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The views expressed in this article represent those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

and industrial activities; in transportation, communication and infrastructure; in health and education services – and in many others. The objectives of rural development, therefore, extend beyond any particular sector.

A national programme for rural development will thus comprise a mixture of activities, either single sector or multi-sector, with the components applied either concurrently or as a sequence of activities, implemented in priority order and at a speed determined by availability of resources. Several important characteristics distinguish rural development. The first is that the main thrust takes place at area level, whether the latter is a watershed or catchment area, a river basin, an irrigation command area or an administrative region. The basis of the selection depends on decisions by governments, and the factors to be taken into consideration will probably vary from one country to another. Second, the organisation of multi-sectorial rural development effort is administratively so complex and so costly that its objectives can seldom be achieved on an individual project basis. Indeed, even in cases where efforts are confined solely to the agricultural sector, as will be discussed later in this paper, the complexities involved in achieving well-co-ordinated development activities are usually such that considerable organisational and administrative capacity is required for their undertaking. Third, while the primary focus is on human issues and needs, the purpose of development should be to satisfy these needs with the least adverse effect on natural resources and the environment at large. Indeed, there needs to be acceptance that social and economic objectives cannot be attained without proper environmental management. A fourth characteristic is that since rural development is a continuing long term and complex process of such magnitude, only a programme as opposed to a project approach will yield significant impact.

In developing a strategy for rural development it will be obvious that there can be no single 'blue print' for universal adoption. Each country has to formulate policies according to its stage of development, its resource conditions, the existing political system, the institutional structure *and* its most pressing needs. Inevitably, therefore, the strategy for rural development varies from country to country. But there is one strategic decision on which most developing countries rarely have any choice; this is that the inescapable starting point for development is the need to expand the economic base – to provide employment and a livelihood for the bulk of the people – without which it would be impossible to introduce substantial improvements of a social nature.

A second major strategy decision is whether to spread scarce governmental resources over all areas on a nation-wide basis or to concentrate their utilization, successively in selected regions or areas. Of related importance is the decision as to whether to start development in the most favourable areas or whether to give prior attention to less favourable areas. From the social and political viewpoints, the latter will have obvious appeal but economic considerations may dictate that a start should first be made in areas of high production potential. Some will argue in favour of the latter approach on the grounds that concentration of resources is essential to the achievement of a *self-sustaining* economic growth.

It is not suggested that governments should withdraw services in order to concentrate them in other areas; obviously, there should be minimum cost services which permit some improvement in the level of subsistence, associated with production for the market, to which all governments should strive. Apart from known requirements and needs, a critical issue in making this strategic decision about 'which areas' will be the availability of resources – skilled manpower, finance, availability of markets, transport routes and, above all, the organisational structure and administrative capacity – which will enable a government to respond to development needs.

A different kind of decision for governments will be the extent to which they should rely on foreign technical assistance. Such aid may be costly, may not coincide with national priorities or may impose irrelevant approaches and institutions. In its totality, foreign aid may so overtax administrative capacity that governments fail to build the 'replicability' or capacity to continue a certain programme once foreign aid ceases. At best, foreign aid will never be more than a modest supplement to local (national) efforts.

Yet another kind of decision concerns the extent to which there should be a co-ordinated strategy, in which rural and urban areas are viewed as inter-dependent and therefore planned together. With the need to provide for service centres, communications systems, markets and the miscellany of infrastructure required of general development, the objectives of rural development will be seen in a wider context. In this context 'rural' development becomes synonymous with comprehensive 'regional' development ('regional' used in the sub-national sense).

It will be clear from the foregoing that effective rural development depends on the adoption by governments of policies favourable to rural development – policies which support every action both at the planning and the implementation stages. nothing less will suffice. Indeed a demonstration of political will by governments is an essential prerequisite to rural development.

III. Action Measures for Rural Development

As we indicated earlier, the development of rural areas is discussed in this paper from the particular viewpoint of activities in the agricultural sector. Given this principal means of providing the economic base for rural development, it seems appropriate to look at the relevant institutions and services which influence the pace of development in that sector. For convenience, the more important action measures needed have been grouped under four main headings.

1. Involvement of People

The involvement of people is, clearly, fundamental to the whole concept of rural development. National development objectives are unlikely to be realized unless they reflect local needs and are understood and are accepted by rural communities. 'Involvement', therefore, implies taking part in the planning as well as in the implementation processes, since development must be carried out with people, not for them. The success of rural development programmes will depend on the

extent to which there is delegation of initiative and decision-making so that people can decide to the maximum extent possible on matters affecting themselves at their level. Only in this way can people develop a sense of self-reliance, always a strong feature in any rural development programme. It is important that each level should form part of an overall system; political systems should provide for this. The type of institution which provides for people's involvement will vary between countries and according to the functions performed.

2. Equipping People for Economic and Social Development

(a) *Research*

It is sometimes said that adaptive research is not geared to finding the answers to the many problems affecting small agricultural producers. New varieties and new methods, for example, are not always best suited to the small-scale producers' requirements, nor can they always be easily applied by them – for a variety of reasons. Even when appropriate small-scale technology is available, there may be sound reasons why it cannot be applied. Experience in many countries has underscored the need for more knowledge about people's economic and social circumstances, their farming systems and farm management abilities, and how best to organize and motivate rural people. To this it may be added that many failures in rural development programmes and projects have occurred simply because adequate studies and surveys – technical, economic, social, institutional and administrative – were not carried out as a preliminary phase in the planning process.

(b) *Education and Training*

Education and training is perhaps one of the most crucial areas where urgent action is required if there is to be greater relevance and economy, both in general formal education and in technical and non-formal education. 'Relevance' is stressed because of the considerable increase in rural unemployed and under-employed, and the need to ensure that the content and orientation of education programmes is influenced by the environment in which the young people will eventually live. Obviously, those living in rural areas should have access to and opportunities in formal education equal to those living in urban areas. However, both relevance and economy suggest that in rural areas much greater emphasis should be placed on training or non-formal education, geared to preparing people for specific jobs. Clearly, economies will also be achieved in education and training if more care is exercised in the determination of trained manpower requirements.

The role performed by the extension service is also a crucial one. Not only does rural development require extension and advisory services of many different kinds but there is a growing need to expand the motivation role traditionally expected of extension workers. There are two major problems in this area which constrain or frustrate effective field extension programmes. The first concerns the attitudes of extension workers which in many cases make them remote from their clientele. The second, a related problem, is that sufficient care is not always taken in the selection and training of extension staff, to ensure that they are properly equipped technically and with a proper spirit of dedication to serving the small

primary producer and his family. Related problems include personnel matters, inadequate transportation and equipment to undertake their work. Given the extreme shortage of well trained extension staff noted in many countries, it is disturbing that proliferation and duplication of extension services among a number of departments and agencies – each performing a similar role – should often be the cause of a wasteful use of scarce resources.

(c) *Rural Infrastructure and Social Services*

To facilitate the increase of agricultural production and, at the same time, make rural areas more attractive places in which to live, it is particularly important that special attention be given to improving rural infrastructure. There is a great need for more small market towns or service centres, in reach of most people living within a determined development area, from where services and facilities can be made available and where an element of communal cohesion can be fostered through structures of government, local government and other people's organizations. Careful consideration is needed when siting these towns and in planning related communication networks, to provide for future developments.

Designed initially on the basis of facilitating agricultural production and rurally-based agro-industry, these new centres provide a focus for improved social services. Aside from the possibilities offered by the provision of adequate water supplies and electricity, these centres will facilitate development of educational and health services, and provide recreational opportunities for the public as a whole.

3. Removing Institutional and Economic Roadblocks

(a) *Agrarian Structure*

Unfavourable social and economic conditions of a large segment of the rural population are often due to agrarian systems which retard human and economic development. A particular instance, found in parts of Asia, is the concentration of farmland *ownership* among a small but powerful elite class. This system vests great social, political and economic power in a few hands and leaves the great mass of rural people in poverty and frustration. Control over farmland is associated with control over the main supporting institutions and services of the rural community.

Some of the principal constraints imposed by adverse land tenure conditions – typically, fragmented holdings and insecure tenure of land, unfavourable share cropping conditions, some undesirable aspects of shifting cultivation, insecure rights to water – can prove very serious obstacles to rapid economic and social development. There is no universally applicable formula for land tenure reform. Some countries have made courageous attempts to introduce legislation aimed at codifying rights to land and its use and, more basically, providing security of tenure. Too frequently, however, governments find the implementation of legislation politically unpalatable. Moreover, any changes in respect of land tenure need to be accompanied by an overhaul of the entire agrarian structure, including governmental encouragement of new institutions in the rural community, to enable the transfer of power over local affairs from the present rural elite groups to statutory

organizations such as local government councils, farmers' associations or co-operatives, agricultural workers' unions and other formal local organizations.

(b) *Economic Services and Facilities*

Briefly mentioned in the previous section any changes in land tenure arrangements should be accompanied by considerable improvements in the distribution facilities, especially the actual availability of farm supplies, of credit, of markets and storage facilities, and the possibility for savings and capital formation – all these, and favourable price policies, have a major impact on efforts to improve production.

Much has been written about the importance of credit and the critical nature of its role in rural development. However, obvious pre-essentials would seem to be the motivation of the producer, the availability of technical knowledge, access to farm supplies and a market and, most important, a fair price for the product. These should come first before limited financial resources are committed to agricultural credit.

Considerable thought has been given over the years as to how best to provide these various economic services. Obviously if primary producers can obtain them from common service centres, then it will greatly facilitate the development process and serve as an encouragement and incentive to the producer. Many different ways of establishing such centres have been devised. Some have been established through multi-purpose producers' co-operatives or farmers' organizations, others through governmental efforts and still others through private entrepreneurial channels. It is also possible to conceive of service centres supported by a variety of sources. In principle, governments cannot afford to wait for the development of one kind of institution, but must push ahead, encouraging development of services from all possible sources.

4. Organizational Measures

Looking first at developments in the agriculture sector, Baldwin[1] said that if the maximum feasible rate of agricultural development is to occur, then each of the necessary services must make its contribution at the proper time. For this to happen, there has to be interaction among the services. Here lies the difficulty, well highlighted by Kieloch,[2] as follows:

'All too often the promised fertilizers and improved seeds do not arrive in time for planting. Not infrequently, the farmers are unable to get a loan in time to purchase package inputs – simply because of inefficiencies and delays in processing loan applications. Demonstration equipment lies idle for lack of repair and soil testing falls months behind schedule. Crop spoilage occurs for lack of storage, processing or transportation facilities and various kinds of technical information which should

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[1]Baldwin, I. L., 'A system of services to support agricultural development' Asian Agricultural College and University Seminar, Bangkok - September, 1970.

[2]Kieloch, Edward A. - the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (vol XIII, no 3, July-Sept., 1967) ('Some Administrative Shortcomings of Intensive Agricultural Development Efforts').

have been conveyed to the farmer were not; often with dire consequences. In sum, agricultural development is being depressed by administrative ineffectiveness'.

In the agricultural sector the many services which contribute to the development 'mix' are, in most countries, provided by more than one government ministry. Frequently, in addition to a ministry of agriculture, there is a separate ministry concerned with land and water; forestry and other natural resources may be in another; and, occasionally, co-operatives are known to be part of yet another ministry. In addition to regular government departments, a wide variety of agencies more autonomous in nature exist to undertake functions such as provision of inputs, credit and marketing services. Clearly, if these departments and agencies are to concert their programmes together, some form of interministerial body at the national level is needed. Similar horizontal arrangements are needed at successive levels down to the area level, to permit co-ordination in the planning and execution of agricultural development programmes and plans. Vertical links between the national, area and sub-area levels which provide for a two-way channel of communication are also required. As mentioned earlier, the effectiveness of this machinery depends on the links established between the various agencies and the people's own organizations.

Attempts in some countries to solve this complex organizational problem by the creation of a 'super' ministery (eg Ministry of Rural Development, Ministry of Natural Resources) do not appear to have offered a practical or realistic alternative, since such arrangements tend to heighten the sluggishness of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, reforms which provide for one government ministry in the agricultural sector – possibly the Ministry of Agriculture – to take the leadership in co-ordination of activities – may prove more effective. In the latter circumstances the arrangements should allow each ministry, department or agency to play its own definable part, whilst co-operating within an overall co-ordination framework in mutual arrangements for planning and execution. Effective inter-ministerial co-ordination will minimize the wasteful duplication of effort arising from unilateral activities of the individual agencies concerned.

Viewed from the agricultural sector, the complexities of organizational arrangements are considerable. But when other sectors are taken into account the problems become enormous. Organizational shortcomings and weaknesses in administrative capacity have been the cause of many a failure and have probably circumscribed rural development more than any other factor.

Of special importance is the need to provide for co-ordination of action programmes at the field level. The need for strong leadership is underlined, and administrative procedures should be so organized as to give that person the authority to weld together a team of those directly under governmental control, and also to provide effective liaison and collaboration with local government and non-government organizations including those of farmers and commercial interests.

IV. Forestry and Rural Development

1. Agricultural Sector Considerations

Forestry has an immense role to play in rural development programmes. Among several leading issues, employment aspects – both in afforestation and preservation, and in related forest industries – production aspects and preservation of the environment, rank high in the list. However, the main emphasis in this part lies in small-scale forestry enterprises, seen in relation to other aspects of the agricultural sector and in relation to overall rural development.

It is generally recognized that forestry policies should provide incentives which attract people to forestry work, firstly by providing employment and also by establishing new settlements (villages) and related infrastructure in areas both where primary land-use potential is best suited to forestry and also in other areas where forests may be developed in association with crop cultivation and livestock raising. Clearly, forestry policy-makers and planners must maintain close collaboration with other agricultural sub-sectors when land use capabilities and agricultural production systems are being worked out, especially in areas selected for land reclamation and settlement, so as to ensure that human resources, natural resources and production aspects are treated in a balanced and co-ordinated way.

A major problem area is how to deal with the extension of cultivated lands (and the regression of forests) in areas where the best suited land use, because of topography, soil conditions and other factors, dictates a forest cover. The land/man ratio in rural areas of Asia and the Far East Region, has been stated[1] as being about the most disadvantageous of any Region, and the ratio of arable land per caput is the smallest of any in the world. Demographic pressure has led to intensive alienation of forest lands to permanent or shifting cultivation. Demands for food production are a major contributory factor but increasing requirements for fuelwood, forage and small sized timber for daily use are also very critical. Indeed, the fuel shortage in south Asia has become a tremendous problem. These 'agricultural' requirements, which include the growing of trees as a cash crop, are in conflict with the maintenance and preservation of the ecosystem, bearing in mind the ecological consequences of forest regression and its related erosion effects, the effect on declining productivity and the consequent effect on human nutrition.

In the longer term, therefore, misuse of forest lands can only have damaging effects on agriculture, leading to depression – social and economic – in rural areas. It should be possible to work out on a national scale, in co-operation with the rural people, some better land use systems aimed at diversifying crop and animal production *vis-a-vis* forestry priorities. As a starting point, it is suggested that initial efforts be focused on small-scale schemes. Measures should be undertaken at community or village level, so as to explore the problems involved – and possible solutions – prior to working out larger scale programmes.

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[1] *FAO*. The State of Food and Agriculture, 1973 (Chapter 3).

In a more positive direction, other than as a means to stabilize and to conserve soil and water in agricultural areas, foresty should serve rural people in several important ways. First, as a source of food, second as a source of fuel and building material, thirdly, by providing recreational facilities and fourth in improved systems of agrisilviculture. These systems underline the essential inter-relationship of forestry as one of several sub-sectors in the overall agricultural sector, and that planning for forestry must take account of other activities in the sector.

2. Forestry and General Rural Development Considerations

Aside from some important inter-relationships in the agricultural sector, forestry development depends to a considerable extent on developments in other sectors. Leading areas include public works, especially those concerned with the provision of communications to forest areas and within forest areas. Public works are also closely concerned with establishment of infrastructure for village settlement and centres servicing those who live and work in forest areas.

Forestry is also concerned with industry and trade; in some countries developments in the forest industry can be crucial in the national economy. But in general terms there are many countries which have industrial activities involving the manufacture of wood products. Public forest administrations must therefore work very closely with the industrial and foreign trade sectors and thus become involved with questions of export trade and priorities.

Forestry development to a varying extent is related to tourism. In some cases there is also involvement with wildlife management and preservation. The organization of forest reservations, with their obvious recreational facility and appeal, probably as much or more to town as to rural people, make yet another area of the complex variety of activities which comprise the rural development 'bundle' and with which the forest planner has to grapple. A related issue is the overall administration of rural areas and the links which public forestry administrations undoubtedly will have with ministries of home affairs. Looked at this way, forestry development in the context of rural development is concerned with the entire spectrum encompassed by a national economy, since planning, financial affairs, law and order – all come into the picture in addition to those already mentioned.

Already discussed in an earlier Section (II.4) responsibility for the agricultural sector as a whole may rest with a number of ministerial departments and agencies. The responsibility for forestry varies in several ways. It may be a part of a ministry, it may be a separate ministry or it may be established – with varying degrees of autonomy as a public forest authority or corporation. Whichever way is deemed best by the government of a country, it should be clear that those responsible for its administration – in particular, those responsible for the planning of forestry enterprises – need to work closely, first with those concerned with other developments in the agricultural sector, and second with a wide variety of agencies concerned with the many different sectors concerned with rural development. The starting point, therefore, is the design of agricultural (used in the broadest sense) production systems through a combined approach in such fields as land

resource appraisal, soil and water conservation requirements, farm management and marketing. The continuing action is the relationship of the latter activities to other sectors both in economics and rural fields. The finishing point – if one can be satisfactorily achieved – is, as we began, the reaching of improved levels of living favourable to the mass of people living in rural areas.

The Contribution of Public Administration to African Studies*

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE**

In twenty-five years we have moved from that curious anomaly of colonial administration, where the subject of public administration was conspicuous by its absence from the curricula for grooming Britain's imperial administrators, ICS and HMOCS alike, to one where Africa's own administrators have sometimes been expected to top their BA with a diploma in public administration merely to be eligible to sit for the administrative grade qualifying examinations. Few new entrants to an African civil service can today avoid exposure, always deliberate and often intense, to instruction in public administration. In modern Africa, public administration is no longer an art or a gift: it is a science and a pedigree. I contend that it is Africa that has made Public Administration respectable; in return Public Administration has enriched the content and depth of African Studies . . .

This article sets out to demonstrate that, in strong contrast to the pre-war paucity of studies on administration in Africa, the past quarter of a century has seen the emergence of a literature of positive Africanist context and content, as remarkable in its range as in its volume. Such a turnabout is attributed to a radical change in thinking, *circa* 1955, on the preparation of Africa's administrators: the acknowledgement that perhaps after all they need not be born but might actually be trained. The catalyst was Africanisation, that natural desire to staff the administrative service, hitherto the preserve of Europeans, with one's own nationals.

The imperative of Africanisation led in the mid-1950s to the creation in Africa of Institutes of Public Administration. In turn, these were to encourage and facilitate the establishment of Departments of and degrees in Public Administration at African universities in the 1960s. Each of the three stages in the legitimisation of public administration in Africa – derived serially from the process of Africanisation, the establishment of Institutes of Public Administration, and the institution-

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*This is an abridged version of Mr Kirk-Greene's Chapter in Christopher Fyfe, Ed. *African Studies Since the Second World War* (Longman's, 1976). Acknowledgment is made to the publishers for their kind permission to reproduce a part of that Chapter here.

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alisation of public administration studies at University level – can be illustrated by a reference to some of the prominent contributions of each to the literature of African Studies.

My contention is that it was the endorsement in Africa and by Africans of public administration as a respectable discipline that helped to bring about its legitimisation and subsequent expansion in Britain, and at the same time paved the way for a substantial input into African Studies.[1] Africa promoted public administration, in return public administration has enhanced African Studies. I conclude with a brief look at what could become a fourth phase in the story of public administration and African Studies, namely the literature generated by the personal experience of the new bureaucratic cadres who have been the end product of the three antecedent stages of Africanisation, of Institutes of Public Administration, and of under- and post-graduate study . . .

In striking contrast with the young African administrator to-day, pre-war administrative cadets at the annual Oxbridge pre-service training courses, studied a variety of relevant subjects from law to local languages, from sociology to surveying, but very little indeed about the art of public administration.

In the event, it may be said that the African cadet had to wait until he reached his colony before he could lay his hands on some of the real 'nitty-gritty' items of public administration in Africa: the kind of directives prepared by one Secretary for Native Affairs, 'with a view to the guidance of Residents and Senior District Officers in training their junior officers and especially cadets . . . on point of procedure in which it appears that instruction is particularly needed'. This type of basic literature would have included Cameron's *Principles of Native Administration and their Application* (1934) or their Tanganyikan counterpart of 1930, his famous 'little brown books'; Clifford's *Minute* of 1922, 'primarily intended for the guidance and instruction of the junior members of the political service'; and Lugard's *Political Memoranda* themselves, colloquially described as 'the DO's Bible' but, as I have suggested elsewhere, only in the limited sense that it was not always read after the first obligatory 'dip-in' and its precepts frequently taken for granted, knavishly reinterpreted, or simply ignored.

Such was the position until 1937. That year a young researcher published her analysis of what indirect rule was all about at the grassroots and how it operated in daily detail. As the dog-eared, margin-annotated copy in the former Colonial Services Club at Oxford unambiguously demonstrated, Margery Perham's *Native Administration in Nigeria* earned its place as a stimulating and fundamental text . . .

By and large there was very little written material prior to World War II. In 1943 Kenneth Bradley's 'Diary of a District Officer' made a welcome appearance, but another 25 years passed before J. H. Smith's 'Colonial Cadet in Nigeria'

provided its West Coast counterpart. But the indictment of the preparation of Britain's African administrators goes further than this chronic lack of literature on what field administration was all about.

It has long surprised this writer that, while Britain enjoyed for over a century an enviable reputation for the quality of her imperial district agents, the notion of their being trained for administration was, if not unheard of, at least unheeded. The noble tradition of administrator, which stretches from those titans of the Punjab like Nicholson and Lawrence, through Milner's brilliant Kindergarten and Cromer's vision of a Sudanese service of 'active young men, endowed with good health, high character and fair abilities', and down to individual field administrators in the latter-day Indian, Sudan, Malayan and Colonial Civil Services, has this in common: at no time did the topic of public administration ever appear in their education. Even as late as 1949, when the streamlined Devonshire Course 'A' had replaced the Tropical African Services Course at Oxford, Cambridge and London, no administrator in training was taught anything of public administration (Whether he was a better or worse administrator for this lacuna is not at issue here.) My own notebooks from that year are filled with R. E. Robinson's witty debunking of the theory of indirect rule, but what I learned of the hows rather than the whys of African administration was more germane to an incumbent of Government House than to a touring officer in the bush – as, on arrival on the Coast, my seniors were quick to remind me! The disbelief that public administration was something that could be taught in the classroom, that administrators could be made and were not necessarily born – the reverse of the classic practice of Britain's corps of imperial administrators – was something that died hard.

Yet if such an idea was an unconscionable time a-dying, it did receive a further – and fatal – dose of insulin from the African experience. This was a by-product of the plans for constitutional advance urged by Creech-Jones and Cohen at the Colonial Office and first implemented on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. The Administrative Service had long been a target of the nationalists: in West Africa, where its commitment to indirect rule was looked on as an infamous device to prop up 'illiterate village yokels' (NAs) at the expense of the Western educated elite (BAs); in East Africa, for the seemingly insensitive authoritarianism in its exercise of control; and in West, East and Central Africa alike for its immense social aloofness – an hauteur felt as much by departmental and commercial whites as by subject blacks and browns. Lord Hailey, in a confidential memoir written in 1940, had warned the colonial governments that they were playing with fire in their inflexible handling of recruitment to the Administrative Service (loftily, *never* a Department). But the 'scaffolding' theory, whereby the admission of Africans into the Administrative Service was rejected as pointless since it was assumed that at independence the steel frame would be removed, had won the official colonial mind. For all Hailey's warnings, repeated again in 1942 when he was consulted on the related inclusion of Africans into Executive Councils, it was not until the Gold Coast's Watson Commission declared in 1948 that admission of Africans into the administration was an integral part of constitutional advance, that the breakthrough was achieved. Followed in the same year by the Foot Report on the Nigerianisation of

the civil service, by the beginning of the 1950s it was no longer possible to view the administration as reserved for European officials.

Programmes for scholarships abroad for selected high-fliers followed, yet much of the rationale was based on the old-school conviction that the best kind of administrator was the one with a highly-trained brain – and if a Blue or two could be added to the Greats man for good measure, so much the better potential of a first-class administrator. Provided the applicant could prove his intellectual training by having taken an honours degree, it did not really matter whether it was in classics, chemistry or crystallography. The new scholarship programme of schoolboy-into-graduate-into-administrator was, like forest seedlings in the eyes of a quickpenny timber merchant, altogether too slow a process when set beside the pace of constitutional advance in West Africa. Lacking the headstart of the ICS which had been admitting Indians into the competitive entrance examination for at least half a century before independence, localisation of the administration in Africa outside the Sudan now found itself faced with a crisis of manpower in its higher cadres.

Crises call for crash action; and it was this that brought Africanisation into being as a primary political objective. Short courses at British universities for promising administrators in the making from all over Africa were complemented in 1957 by the pioneer course in Africa designed to train Africans as District Officers. As one of the most distinguished of the first generation of African administrators has observed, it was on this Zaria model that other African countries – Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho – were to base their own programmes for training administrators. Now the consequent literature was on the march.

Africanisation reports, many of them today collector's items in African studies libraries, often led to further research into and reports on the minutiae of central administration. Other African Studies items began to feature among much sought-after acquisitions: reports of Public Service Commissions, salary review bodies, manpower surveys and staff development centres. Public administration data which before the war had either not been published or had been thrown away by serving officials as yet more dull publications from the Government Printer now assumed the value – and later a rarity status – of basic items of Africana for any serious research on administration in Africa.

The tidal wave of constitutional reform, development plans and Africanisation programmes washed against the portals of the Colonial Office. When the tide receded a decade later, its highwater mark on African Studies was clear for all to see. The creation of the African Studies Branch, the launching of the *Journal of African Administration* and the inauguration of the annual Cambridge Summer Schools devoted to discussing topics of administrative concern to Africa, all reflected a very new-look Colonial Office image. The full story of the influence of the African Studies Branch on public administration in Africa has still to be assessed, but all three of its agents, and the related *Corona*, house journal of

HMOCS, have earned a place of their own in the study of and literature on African administration and have secured a notable niche in African Studies libraries.

Nor was this all. Such training was usually located in an embryo civil service training institute, so that between 1954 and 1964 Institutes of Public Administration sprang up all over anglophone Africa. In general, their principal remit was to further the implementation of Africanisation programmes, with special reference to the training of administrators at a number of levels, from district officers and diplomats downwards.

This development led in its turn to two more advances in public administration. One was an increase in the number of studies dealing with public administration in Africa. As indirect rule gave way to local government new writing emerged. It is not without significance that among the reforms in colonial service training in the 1950s there now featured the need to give British administrators some practical experience in the kind of local government systems they were expected, *pace* Creech Jones, to promote in Africa. More of it came along too as, besides the writing of teaching texts for African administrators, the emphasis in Institutes of Public Administration was placed on producing case studies of African administration in action. As this kind of research developed and was written up, more and more of the results found their way into the bookshops and onto the bookshelves in Europe and America as staples of African Studies programmes. And as Institutes of Public Administration upgraded their courses in public administration till in some cases post-graduate and staff college levels were attained, a number of professional journals were launched by them. Prominent among these was Ife's *Quarterly Administration*. Later still, as decolonisation passed from promise to realisation, particular studies began to appear of the civil service implications of the transfer of power: for example, Kenneth Younger's *The Public Service in New States* (1960), A. L. Adu's *The Civil Service in New African States* (1965), and Richard Symonds' *The British and Their Successors* (1966). At some future date, when the perspective is right, it should be possible to undertake worthwhile studies of the Colonial Administrative Service and build on Robert Heussler's pioneering *Yesterday's Rulers* (1965) and the founding works of Sir Ralph Furse (*Aucuparius*, 1962) and Sir Charles Jeffries, the last of whose many publications was the important monograph *Whitehall and the Colonial Service: an administrative memoir* 1939-1956 (1973).

The second advance was the acceptance of public administration into university curricula, an event often coincident with the inclusion of the Institute of Public Administration (or parts of it) as a constituent college of the university and the conversion of its public administration wing into a Department of Public Administration or Government (or of Politics, *sub rosa*). Here another determinant in the legitimisation of Public Administration deserves special mention. This was the American academic presence in Africa. The history of public administration as a respectable university subject is longer in USA than in UK. In the latter, public administration had enjoyed too long perhaps a connection with such pedestrian topics as public health and town hall bumbledom. The American

presence was felt in three ways. First, there was the tie-up between specific African Institutes of Public Administration and selected American Schools of Public Administration, eg Kabete and Syracuse, Zaria and Pittsburgh, Kampala and New York, often with reciprocal teaching facilities. Secondly came the recruitment of American faculty members to the Departments of Public Administration in the new African universities. Lastly, there was the academic output of this collaboration, in the form of reciprocal and counterpart training, research reports, monographs and books. Some of the contributions by the first American Africanist scholars have yet to be surpassed for their politico-administrative insights . . .

In sum, the benefit to African Studies generated by the past twenty-five years of public administration in Africa can be compellingly assessed by the range and quality of its literary expression. Overlapping, as it does, with politics and history on the one hand and with economics and anthropology on the other, public administration today furnishes a distinguished shelf in every African Studies library. There can be few books on African politics and modern history that do not need to preface their argument with a description of the administrative context in which the plot is played out.

Casting one's eye along the impressive array of titles, one may think back to the plight of our embryo administrator of 1950, as much as him of 1940 or of 1930. and imagine what he would have given to have had to hand some of the perceptive studies of public administration such as those his African successor can read today. Virtually every African country is covered. There is Goren Hyden *et al*, *Development Administration: the Kenyan Experience* (1970); Stanley Dryden's *Local Administration in Tanzania* (1968); W. Tordoff's *Government and Politics in Tanzania* (1967) and his *Government and Politics in Zambia* (1974); F. G. Burke's *Local Government and Politics in Uganda* (1964). On the wider scene, we have Hailey's four volumes on *Native Administration in the British African Territories* (1951); Ronald Wraith's *Local Administration in West Africa* (1972); B. H. Sellassie's *The Executive in African Government* (1974) and Bernard Schaffer's important study of administrative training and development in East Africa and Zambia. Or, to take Nigeria alone, there are D. J. Murray's *The Work of Administration in Nigeria* (1969) and his *Studies in Nigerian Administration* (1970); Adebayo Adedeji's *Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting* (1968); E. O. Awa's *Federal Government in Nigeria* (1964); and L. F. Blitz's *The Politics and Administration of Nigerian Government* (1965). All are very much to the public administration point. Furthermore, a glance at the list of theses in preparation suggests that there is as much again in the pipeline by way of case studies of African administration in action, some of it significantly written from the African end. Nor can one for a moment overlook the relevance of such symposia as the down-to-earth proceedings of the annual Inter-African Public Administration seminar, a selection from whose first decade has just been published. For the sake of this paper, strictly theoretical studies of public administration have been omitted. Some of these can, with varying degrees of ease, be applied to the African context: for instance, the models developed by F. W. Riggs or the arguments of Bernard Schaffer. Other works, set squarely within the mainstream of African political history, yet have an important

bearing upon the subject of public administration. One thinks at once of studies like those of Anthony Low and Cranford Pratt, Colin Leys, Michael Crowder and Cherry Gertzel, besides the American contributions by David Apter, James Coleman, Gray Cowan, Lloyd Fallers and Martin Kilson. All of these, and several more, have earned an indispensable place in African Studies as well as in the study of public administration.

And so the circle is completed. Courses in Europe for African administrators in the making, inspired with the doctrine that a first-class Lit Hum mind and an on-the-job apprenticeship under a senior officer who has learned most of the ropes and all of the tricks after twenty years in the same post could not fail to produce the *beau ideal* of imperial administrator, gave way first to courses at Africa's own Institutes of Public Administration where African officials were 'trained' to become District Officers, and later to courses at African universities in which public administration was recognised as a proper subject for undergraduate study. In this abrupt change of direction, the catalyst was the imperative of Africanisation and the agent was the Institute of Public Administration. Thus it is that Africa may be said to have endorsed and promoted the respectability of Public Administration. In return, Public Administration has given to African Studies a remarkable richness of literature.

We are left with two foreseeable directions in which public administration may make a further contribution to the reputation of African Studies. One is the analysis of colonial administration from the grassroots upwards. How did the Native Administration staff view their District Commissioner? What did 'they', prince and peasant politician alike, think 'we' were doing? Or not doing? The second relates to the literature on Africa's bureaucratic cadres. It is not a question of studies of African civil services but of studies by African public servants. What is needed to complete the picture of public administration in Africa (and what may be expected soon, as the first generation of African bureaucrats approaches retiring age) is the recording and the evaluation of their version of what Africanisation was all about and of their views on what African administration both was, in the colonial period when they were junior officials, and is, in the post-independence period when they have been key civil servants. I have advocated this fresh focus of research often enough in the past few years. Let me simply conclude by saying that when African civil servants have written their equivalents of the revealing memoirs of Indian administrators like N. B. Bonarjee, S. K. Chettur, Apa Pant, E. N. Mangat Rai and Navi Rustomji, both public administration and African Studies will be the richer for the record. In the meantime, a review of the growth of area studies since the Second World War demonstrates how the status of public administration and the reputation of African Studies have been mutually enhanced.

The National Advisory Council of Trinidad and Tobago

STEPHEN NANCOO*

Once taken for granted in the policy context, it has become increasingly clear that the particular structures of public organisations profoundly influence outcomes in the administrative process. The imperatives of development, especially in Third World countries, require many new structures and substantial modifications to those already existing. It is not unexpected, therefore, that structural changes, both within and outisde the governmental administration system will constantly be initiated to improve the process of arriving at decisions. Indeed, such new policy structures as advisory councils and task forces, representing a 'plastic type' approach as distinct from rigid boxes in the organisational chart, sometimes succeed where conventional instruments of policy formulation fail.

New policy structures, however, should not be viewed merely as means towards the formulation of policy. It is frequently the case that a new structure may be a short-run policy output. As a positional policy output, as distinct from allocative policies, new policy structures affect the main areas of influence in the conversion system. Operating in and around the cabinet, new structures as advisory councils may enjoy an advantage over on-going structures which operate around the bureaucracy in the policy formulation contest within the executive-bureaucratic arena.[1]

In this article I shall examine the relationship between new structures and public policy with special reference to the recently established National Advisory Council of Trinidad and Tobago (NAC). Whilst it is too soon to draw any positive conclusions about the effectiveness of the Council, some indication of its potential and problems will be made.

Terms of Reference

The NAC was created in October 1976, one month after the return to power of Prime Minister Eric Williams and his People's National Movement. The terms

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[1]G. Bruce Doern and Peter Aucoin (eds.), *The Structures of Policy-Making in Canada* (Macmillan, Toronto, 1971) and G. Bruce Doern and V. Seymour Wilson (eds.), *Issues in Canadian Public Policy* (Macmillan, Toronto, 1974).

of reference of the Council, as enumerated by Representative Kamaluddin Mohammed, Minister of Health and Local Government, in the House of Representatives are:

a to examine and advise on the reduction of unemployment, more equitable and just distribution of income, economic self-suffiiciency, higher priority to rural development, accelerated re-development, regional development, active promotion of indigenous culture, development of an efficient system of public administration, rapid diversification of the economy, with decreasing dependence on the production of oil, accelerated improvement of all infra-structural facilities towards enhancing the quality of life;

b to review accepted national objectives and make appropriate recommendations;

c to advise on the preparation of a Fourth Five-Year Development Plan for Trinidad and Tobago;

d to recommend steps for improving the quality of the system of administration, and advise on such changes in the bureaucratic procedures considered necessary for greater efficiency, and more rapid implementation of approved development projects;

e to examine proposals from the respective Ministries, Statutory Boards, Agencies etc., that will lead to rapid development of the infra-structural facilities, and make recommendations on priorities, schedules and approaches in their implementation;

f to consider such recommendations and reports resulting from national consultation, as directed by the Prime Minister, and advise Cabinet on appropriate action; in particular as a matter of priority address itself to the report of the recently held symposium on the mobilisation of local financial resources;

g to advise on an action plan to strengthen the non-petroleum sector of the economy;

h to advise on the question of achieving national ownership and control of the economic activities of the country;

i to suggest modifications in existing procedures and new procedures, to ensure maximum participation by national firms in all local projects in both the private and public sectors;

j to consider the existing role of the public media in the overall educational and public information process, and make recommendations for improvement in these areas;

k to advise on appropriate action that will preserve and improve the physical environment of the country;

l to assist in the formulation of policies that will improve the industrial relations in the country;

m to advise on any matter referred to it by the Prime Minister and Cabinet.[1]

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[1] *Trinidad Guardian*, October 9, 1976.

Organisation and Personnel

The Council is an external policy advisory body with a direct relationship to the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Its fifteen members, drawn mainly from the business and academic communities, serve the council in a part-time capacity. Professor Ken Julien is chairman of the NAC in addition to his retaining his university post.

Organisationally, the 15-member Council is divided into three sub-committees which service the three major areas of its terms of reference. These three areas of concern are National Economic Planning, Administrative Improvement in the Public Service, and the Efficiency of the Utilities and Public Enterprises. There is a small, full-time secretariat headed by Fitz Belle, a Permanent Secretary with the Trinidad and Tobago Government. The Secretariat operates independently of the permanent bureaucracy. Given the nature and complexity of the NAC task, according to Prime Minister Williams, it will still be necessary for the Council 'to depend on the several Ministries and Agencies of Government for information and technical support.'[1]

The Role of The Advisory Council

The Council's role becomes more important if we review the perceptions of the Prime Minister and examine what the Council does in an 'objective' sense. In this way one can assess the policy advisory roles of the two major types of policy outputs, positional and allocative.

Positional Policy Types

As a positional policy output, the NAC affects the structuring of influence in the conversion system. In the partisan words of the Prime Minister, 'the Council is made up of people with varied professional backgrounds and experience, so that the Government could have recourse to a fund of mature judgement on some of the critical problems with which our new Republic is confronted.'[2]

Apart from being the most significant institutional innovation since the PNM's re-election, the NAC should be seen against the background of the relationship existing between the Prime Minister and his senior civil servants. Prior to, during and after the election campaign, Prime Minister Williams publicly and repeatedly chastised senior civil servants. The criticisms extended beyond the problem of inefficiency for it is reported that as early as October 1975 Prime Minister Williams felt there was 'a small, ambitious minority of civil servants' who posed a threat to his leadership.[3] Judging from the wide range of developmental issues included in its terms of reference, the NAC might be the outcome of the elected officials current disenchantment and distrust of the bureaucracy as well as their perceived need for alternative sources of information and policy ideas.

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[1] *Budget Speech*, 1977 (Trinidad and Tobago Government Printer, December, 1976), p 37.

[2] *Budget Speech*, 1977, p 33.

[3] *Sunday Express*, November 7, 1976.

In the structuring of influence, positional policies may also be of a regulatory nature whereby one unit secures a more dominant position than another. At the moment it would appear that the NAC enjoys a temporary position of dominance *vis-a-vis* the permanent officials. Evidence of this can be gleaned from Prime Minister Williams' perceptual expectations of the ability and role of the Council. To illustrate, the Prime Minister noted in his Budget Speech that the National Advisory Council has been requested to make recommendations in the critical area of administrative improvement with the aim of reducing existing operational constraints and improving management systems in the public sector. Similarly, the NAC is expected to advise on the establishment of norms or standards of performance as a means of assessing the efficiency of public enterprises.[1]

There is a correspondence between this 'regulatory type' expectation and the objective role of the NAC. In a letter to Premier Williams, the Chairman of NAC, Professor Julien stated: 'The Council has asked that I convey to you, in the strongest possible terms, its concern over delays in implementation of approved projects . . . The need for officers to be held accountable for such delays which cost money is pressing and some action must be taken in the future in this chronic problem area.'[2]

Allocative Policies

Structures that operate in and around the bureaucracy normally determine by far the greatest proportion of values authoritatively allocated. This pattern of allocation is derived mainly from administration of past policies and incremental increases provided by new programmes.

The NAC will not only have a significant influence on allocative policies derived from new programmes, but will also make inroads in the traditional preserve of the bureaucracy, viz. on-going programmes. In terms of on-going programmes, it was revealed by Prime Minister Williams that the Council has submitted proposals on agricultural marketing, evaluation of existing subsidy programmes, re-organization of the research and development effort in agriculture, improvement of the extension services, optimisation of the human resources available within the ministry of agricultute and agricultural credits.

In the sphere of new programmes, the NAC will have considerable influence in future allocative outputs as part of its planning role, which forms one of its priority areas. This explains Prime Minister Williams' announcement that the government has decided 'to hold the line on planning for the time being. With the establishment of the National Advisory Council . . . the question of the adoption and utilisation of planning as a developmental tool for Trinidad and Tobago will be comprehensively re-examined. This task has been assigned to the Council as one of its priority areas of concentration in 1977, with particular reference to the question of a Fourth Five-Year Plan.'[3]

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[1] *Budget Speech*, 1977, p 36.

[2] *Budget Speech*, 1977, p 71.

[3] *Budget Speech*, 1977, p 35.

Implications and Conclusions

In the first place, the terms of reference are so extensive that it is doubtful whether the Council can effectively attend to such wide areas of public policies, each of which ideally ought to have expert intelligence applied to it. Secondly, provision for the bureaucracy to provide the Council with additional 'information and technical support' may seriously compromise the NAC's independence as an external advisory body. In light of the fact that the Council has administrative improvement as one of its responsibilities, will the NAC and its secretariat be able to consistently submit independent recommendations, recommendations which the bureaucracy would have helped to formulate?

Another fundamental problem is the time frame within which the Council is expected to operate. It seems obvious that government is interested in advice and ways of evaluating alternatives for short-run policy proposals. But the Council's mandate for reviewing national objectives and national economic planning clearly involves long-term policy issues. If the Council were to service both short-term and long-term policy needs and to reconcile the discontinuity between both, then there would be need for a secretariat which is much larger than the 20 members now envisaged.

Both the Council and Government have been silent on the publication of the NAC's deliberations. Whatever information that has been made available so far has been through the Prime Minister. If the NAC is to have a role as public educator and policy ombudsman, then it is necessary for it to devise appropriate ways for making much more than just 'excerpts of its findings' available to the public and Parliament.

In conclusion, the NAC should not be viewed in political terms as being merely an important structural *means* by which one formulates policy. Coming immediately after an election, the new structure is a politically convenient output in the short-run in response to the policy expectations of the electorate. Moreover, the NAC represents a positional output, which is an end in itself. The frequency with which developed and developing countries engage in structural modifications and in the establishment of task forces, commissions and advisory councils reflects the political importance of structure and organisation as a policy output. The NAC is also meant to come to grips with substantive policy fields. This is evident from the fact that the NAC's responsibilities span both the areas of on-going and new programmes. With responsibilities for such a wide range of issues, however, the Council's effectiveness and legitimacy could be severly reduced.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED NATIONS – UNESCO Meeting of Experts on Urban Problems and the Education of Town Planners (Chandigarh, 6-11 December, 1976). Six years after organizing a meeting of experts on the Education of Architects, UNESCO convened a similar meeting focused on Urban Problems and the Education of Town Planners, thus entering a field totally new to this organization. Fourteen invited participants gathered for a week in Chandigarh, India, in December 1976, along with an equal number of Indian observers, to explore the problems, objectives, context and end-product of education in the field of urban and regional planning, against the background of contemporary urban problems, and with the aim of formulating proposals for future action and possible contribution by UNESCO as a follow-up of the recommendations made at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements.

The participants who came from countries of Africa, North and South America, Asia and Europe, both developed or developing, concentrated their discussion mostly on the less developed areas of the world.

Following a wide-ranging discussion on the nature of urban problems the following aspects of planning education were dealt with: expertise of planners, categories of planners, context of planning education, research in planning education and institutional relations. These five subjects became the focus of working groups, but the general discussion also covered issues like educational objectives, teaching curricula, relations with other professions, the social identity of planners etc.

The context in which physical planning education for developing countries must be conducted should reflect, it was felt, the extreme variations among countries, particularly between more and less developed nations. Such context is defined by a set of factors such as socio-economic dependency, poverty, social inequality, rapid change and urbanization, shortage of resources and institutional weaknesses. Urban problems are inadequately understood while planning is fragmented and often offers only irrelevant or limited technical solutions.

Action in the field of planning education and training must be based on a brief formulated with reference to the nature of the planning process, skills needed and types of training, supporting research and technologies involved.

The planning process, clearly differentiated from mere planmaking, is *not* limited to statutory planning and involves a variety of agents. It should translate national socio-economic objectives into spatial policies and should be innovative and solution-oriented.

In terms of skills, the serious shortage of sub-professionals was noticed, while at the professional level there was a need for professional 'urban managers' at the same level as the traditional professions of architects, engineers, physical planners, social administrators, urban economists etc. This should not preclude additional training which would cut across conventional professionalisms. There was also an acute need for two categories of highly-qualified urban experts, who would be produced through gradual learning and in appropriate working environments in addition to formal training. These would be a category of 'planning executives' operating at the level of strategic planning and institutional guidance and a category of researchers or analysts of urban affairs.

The type of education needed to produce such skills must be varied and should range from informal and in-service training to formal learning, offered whenever possible in the country concerned and in a framework of close co-operation between agencies of learning, research, planning or implementation. To opportunities for training of sub-professionals and professionals and for further specialization, should be added opportunities for mid-career re-orientation and for acquisition of research skills.

Research is bound to vary according to local needs. In this, as in the selection of appropriate technologies, which in this context include operational concepts or organizational methods, the criterion should be that of relevance. Promising areas of research include the role of human settlements as production systems, the dynamics of urbanization and the attendant re-organization of space, the absorptive capacity of cities, the evaluation of past urban development policies, the efficiency of urban support systems, the methods and instruments used at every stage of the planning process etc.

Recommendations were considered at three levels: institutional, national and international, which in essence implied possible action by UNESCO. At the level of institutions the emphasis was on the development of teaching and research programmes through collaboration of educational and planning agencies on a continuous basis and using existing resources, whenever possible, in order to produce the skills outlined above.

At the national level governments should formulate manpower programmes, create the training capacities required, both in training institutions and within planning agencies, promote the evaluation of planning experience, disseminate its conclusions, ease communications between government departments and educational establishments to facilitate learning, and introduce school and citizen information programmes on urban problems.

International assistance can take a number of forms. It could be directed at making possible the assessment of planning and implementation efforts on a comparative basis and the dissemination of the results for educational purposes. It could also strengthen existing regional training and research centres or help organize training programmes. Useful contributions could be made towards recording practical experience or academic work in or about developing countries in special journals or collections of essays and towards facilitating the teaching of urban affairs at school level or through mass-media programmes.

Three areas of vital importance in which international organizations could fruitfully take action are the promotion of international networks of exchange of knowledge and experience, the setting-up and financing of international teaching material or policy information banks, and finally the creation of facilities for the training of teachers of planning.

(Contributed by Louis Wassenhoven, Senior Lecturer, Development Planning Unit, University College London)

INTERNATIONAL – Urban Transport Policies

Traffic experts who met under OECD auspices to consider the problems of Urban transportation came to the following conclusions:

1 Traffic measures should improve overall accessibility while reducing traffic densities – the specific function of transportation systems is to provide easy movement from place to place.

2 Positive incentive schemes are preferable to negative regulations and constraints – ie don't ban cars unless you can provide an adequately efficient alternative.

3 Individuals who bear the cost of traffic constraint merit compensation. When a traffic system helps some individuals at the expense of others, the latter should not suffer financial loss.

4 All programmes constraining traffic and simultaneously improving access, can only be experimental – therefore programmes should be developed in stages and evaluated.

5 The right solutions are not yet established so a wide range of alternative schemes should be assessed.

6 The social distribution of costs needs to be carefully borne in mind. Traffic managers should be particularly wary lest their new schemes compound the problems of those who can least afford higher transport and living costs.

Source: *JULA Newsletter*

BRITAIN – Consultancy in Disaster Mitigation

A Consultancy in disaster mitigation to assist in attempts to reduce losses from natural disaster has been established by James Lewis following seven years of disaster research, latterly as Director of the Disaster Research Unit at the University of Bradford.

The Colsultancy aims to provide a link between disaster research and policy makers, administrators and professional advisers and offers a service including:

- Planning and co-ordination of indigenous resources for use as immediate relief.
- Methods of emergency administration and contingency planning for emergency situations.
- Building design and construction in advanced techniques eg for low-income or self-built projects, to resist high wind, seismic forces and flood.
- Regional and physical aspects of planning for longer term mitigating strategies affecting social, logistic, agricultural, industrial and commercial development programmes.
- Decision making immediately following disaster occurence and during subsequent rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Assignments are expected to be with governments, UN and voluntary agencies and regional organisations. Where appropriate the Consultancy expects to collaborate with members of the professions and Universities and with local expertise and personnel in disaster-prone situations.

The Consultancy is based at 101 High Street, Marshfield Avon, Nr Chippenham, Wiltshire.

Correction: Alderman Sir Francis Hill is of course Chancellor of Nottingham University, not Vice-Chancellor as stated in our July Number Quarterly Notes.

Book Reviews

District Administration - A Survey for Reorganisation, ISHWAR DAYAL and Others; *Macmillan*, 1976; pp 91; Rs30.

The structure and working of the administration of an Indian district is the subject of this short essay by three scholors of Indian administration. The research to sustain it is confined to a single district; but the authors have been able to focus attention to some of the administrative shortcomings. Although none of the three appear to have any direct experience by actual participation in the running of a district, their academic insight helps to make this essay a useful contribution to the literature on the subject.

The main conclusion they reach is that the existing structure of the district administrative apparatus is not suitable, and indeed cannot be geared to achieve the desired objectives of district administration. They call attention to what they call 'dysfunctionalities' (hideous word) that are built into the present structure. This is due to two things: the derivation of the present system from the previous colonial regime and its continuance in the interests of administrative stability in the midst of political, social and economic change; and the rapidly accelerating pace of economic development with its concomitant proliferation of institutions and agencies. And since there is no single point (no single person ?) with a sufficiently comprehensive knowledge of all that goes on, co-ordination becomes impossible, and the working system cannot respond to the people's needs.

These conclusions appear to derive from the authors' main premiss, which they state in introducing their own alternative system, namely, 'we suggest that the purpose of district administration is to achieve the growth and development of the community in a district'. But this is not altogether true. While growth and development obtains, and rightly so, an increasingly important place in the total governmental effort, district administration in India comprehends more than this, as anyone knows who has to run a district or to function in any of the Central or States ministries or agencies. It may be unfortunate, but the fact remains that the needs for administrative stability and continuity remains a valid factor, and this has been underlined by the political events through the length and breadth of

this vast country through three decades since independence. Apart from everything else, law and order continues to claim first priority everywhere.

It also remains true today that the district collector and magistrate continues to occupy the central position in the administrative structure. This appears to suit everyone. The government still calls upon him to act as the major reference point in the district, and to deal with every kind of crisis or major problem that may arise in the district. At the same time, the people continue to find him a suitable point of call and reference in case of need; a point that is able to act with speed and decision, and capable of clearing the lines of communication and of authority adequate to the occasion. He has the means of keeping himself sufficiently informed of all that goes on. The lack of ability to respond sufficiently to the people's needs is due to causes for which one might look elsewhere, in the upper echelons of the governmental and political hierarchies. Indeed the authors themselves make some reference to the handicaps that beset the district officer in his endeavours on the people's behalf. But to speak of him as the executive officer of the Zila Parishad, the district Council, is unreal, and continues to prove a piece of mere wishful thinking.

S. S. KHERA

Colonial Town to Melanesian City: Port Moresby 1884-1974, N. D. ORAM; *Australian National University Press* 1976; pp i-xviii, 1-289, A$10.95.

Almost thirteen years of intensive fieldwork and historical research, a nearly equivalent period spent as an administrator concerned with local government units in East Africa, and a spell as a town councillor – in the town (now city) studied – have all contributed to the perspectives and detail of this indispensable account of Port Moresby's development. The book shows the author's familiarity with the everyday life of both the colonial administrator and of the Papua New Guinea urban villager and migrant. The relationship between these two 'lives' of Port Moresby – between, that is, the administration of the town and the Papua New Guinean residents' needs – is the central theme of the study.

A deep and sympathetic knowledge of at least two Papuan languages and cultures informs one side of the coin. A rich experience as administrator, local government politician and Port Moresby historian shapes the other side. In developing the analysis a great deal of dispersed data, including Nigel Oram's own fieldwork and personal involvements, is brought together. Port Moresby episodes and personalities can now be seen in the round.

Indispensable for 'New Guinea hands', the book is also excellent reading for others concerned with the relationship between administration and its present and potential public. The chapter on shelter – by far the longest chapter in the book – is particularly good value for specialist and non-specialist alike. The treatment of the possibilities of town-planning in the face of customary rights to urban land is especially interesting.

Those of us – to add a personal note – who share (and have been stimulated by) Nigel Oram's enthusiasm for Port Moresby will benefit from and welcome the rich detail of the account. That detail will, I suspect, prove treacherous for many who would be interested in the conclusions but who will falter before they reach them. Mainly, this is a question of inadequate, signposting. The division of the book into two relatively discrete parts – six chapters of administrative history and six chapters giving a generalised, contemporary survey – together with the absence of headings makes for heavy going at times. This is because the relegation of both secondary and critical events to the passing parade of town-life in various (not always justified) periods encourages the reader to skip sections in which, to his cost, are buried markers vital to the subsequent account. It is also because the theme of administration versus needs is too broadly and simply drawn until the final chapters; the reader is left, until then, to digest whatever he can manage. Headings and a presentation organised around single, substantive issues – such as land use, business regulation, labour administration, health etc – would have helped considerably. Just occasionally too, paragraphs appear which are bound to throw the unwary off course. For example, the conclusion to the first chapter – which ought to set the scene for the incorporation of village life into alien administrative system – is lost in a heavily compressed and eventually unhelpful paragraph about different types of social change.

After the six historical chapters, three largely non-historical chapters (dealing with social organisation, demography and race relations) provide a further context for the final, three chapter conclusion. That conclusion – in which I include the chapter on shelter – is well worth waiting for: the insights gained are only possible, one realises, because of the many perspectives employed and because of the close documentation.

The only issue over which it seems possible to argue with the author concerns the importance he attaches to developing civic identity and public order. Life might be more harmonious and Port Moresby administration easier if such developments were possible: yet people migrate there to earn a living, to further a career, or realise a business opportunity. A great deal of administrative effort has been, and will be in future, devoted to providing a physical and institutional setting which expresses and mediates the interests, concerns and conflicts of people involved in the town for largely economic reasons. Discussion of the way in which administration has or has not attempted to structure responses to Port Moresby's economic fortunes may prove more useful as a basis for future recommendations than discussions of order and identity. The broad historical relationship between administrative effort and economic activity might, therefore, have provided a surer guide to the book's contents than the one chosen. Any future analysis of this relationship would, inevitably, be heavily dependent on this present pioneering and insightful work.

ALAN REW

The Making of Modern Belize: Politics, Society and British Colonialism in Central America, C. H. GRANT. Foreword by W. J. M. MACKENZIE. *Cambridge University Press,* 1976; pp xvi + 400. Price £14.00.

Belize (formerly British Honduras) is a country about the size of Wales with a population of 120,000, consisting of Creoles, Caribs, Amerindians, Mestizos and East Indians. The economy was based mainly on timber and the collection of chicle, with subsistence farming and fishing. The dependence on forest produce meant that the bulk of the food was imported, mainly from the United States. In the first part of this book the author traces its development from its origins as a British settlement in 1638 up to 1949, in both its economic and social aspects. In a very complex society he identifies a large number of criss-crossing interests, from ethnic and cultural ones to class ones and foreign interests. This is the weaker section of the book. Although he rightly shows how the colonial system tended to protect important metropolitan business interests and how Britain's post-war difficulties led it to impose on the colonies certain policies, such as exchange control, that were related to Britain's own financial needs, he has certain assumptions about 'colonialism' and refers several times to the 'appalling conditions' of the people. He was not there at the time to be appalled and in fact, apart from the 1931 hurricane, conditions were far from appalling. The bulk of the population was cheerful and lively with an inner gaiety and relatively well off for the third world, with a good spread of social services. He rightly calls attention to the dominant position of the Creoles but is really trying to sort out a rather amorphous mixed society into its component interests. This causes him to define things with more sharpness than they really possessed. He is clearly aware of this. Thus, having at certain points made statements pointing to certain conclusions, he qualifies them seriously. 'it should not be assumed that . . .' (p 90); 'this division is merely one aspect of a more complex picture . . .' (p 91); 'the differing status and social composition should not be pushed too far . . . (p 93); 'the claim should not be pushed too far (p 99); 'the different . . . experienced . . . should not however be pushed too far . . . (p 101); 'it should not be assumed . . .' (p 133); 'This argument should not be pressed too far . . . (p 362, footnote 32). So, just as the reader thinks he is seeing something, it dissolves away. If this is very like Belize itself, it only emphasises the difficulties of his task in this period.

The situation changed in 1950 with the almost incredible decision to devolve the British Honduras dollar in line with the devaluation of the pound in 1949. (So incredible that, going on leave in September, 1949, I declined an offer from my Bank Manager to advance me all my leave pay at the then advantageous rate of exchange on the ground that devaluation was impossible!) The effects were to raise instantly the cost of living by 30-40% and to wrench the direction of the economy away from the United States towards Britain. From that point onward Mr. Grant gives a blow by blow, almost thought by thought, analysis of what happened. The pattern is familiar from elsewhere although with some special exception: mass discontent and riots; the identification of the colonial regime with the source of the trouble; the rise of a mass party, at first in conjunction with trade unions, foreign influence and funds, mainly through American unions and anti-British Irish-American Jesuits (which ensured the absence of the usual commitment to 'socialism'). These were resisted by the colonial authorities until, after Suez, British policy changed and the United States began to participate in British colonial policy. Then the American-sponsored local leadership (there seems

to have been a similarity between the role of George Price in Belize and Tom Mboya in Kenya) was absorbed into the colonial government. The mass party began to wither except at election times. (It is always easier to mobilise against the government than for it and, in government, one's perspectives change). As the 'membership' system was introduced and then the ministerial system of internal self-government, the usual tensions arose between a well-educated civil service and poorly educated politicians.

It is at this point that the usual pattern changes because of hesitations over full independence. Despite the early inclinations of the Premier, George Price, to seek a Central American connection, despite the pressures on Britain (and its own inclination) to decolonise completely, despite the U.S. efforts, after the fall of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala and its replacement by the pro-American regime of Ydigoras Fuentes, the people of Belize feared being swallowed up by Guatemala. (Mr. Grant prints in full the result of the American 'mediation' so that the extent of the proposed swallow is quite plain). Belize therefore, remains that awkward anomaly, the last British colony on the American continent. Its hopes of being developed with American capital have faded and it has depended on the flow of funds from Britain it has even swung away from Central America and joined CARIFTA (now CARICOM). Its real economic problem is that it is as marginal to CARICOM as it was to Central America and as it is to the U.S., except for the latter's interest in maintaining a pro-American Guatemala.

As a result of this international situation Belize has not been able to follow the usual path whereby those who achieve power through a mass party seek to consolidate it through a 'one-party' state, nor have the resources available to the government been sufficient to purchase support. Instead the government has begun to absorb the middle classes and the opposition has been able to win some broad support.

All this Mr. Grant traces and analyses with great skill and judgement, and in great detail. It is a fascinating story and the book is well worth putting beside some of the other more profound country studies. If there is one gap, and perhaps by its nature it must exist, it is over the flow of funds by which the mass party was constructed. The author tells us that George Price was able to assist the unions in the early days as well as others (and points out that union members rarely paid dues). Money would also be needed for party expenses. Some of the flows are hinted at and Mr. Grant tells us, no less than four times, that Price's employer, Turton, was a multi-millionaire. He does not tell us that he was a Mafia-like figure who went about with a bodyguard and who slept in a different bedroom every night.

N. S. CAREY-JONES

The District - A Study in Decentralisation in West Malaysia,
J. H. BEAGLEHOLE; Hull Monographs on South-East Asia No 6, *University of Hull Publications, Oxford University Press* 197; £3.00.

In this pioneering book on district administration in West Malaysia, Beaglehole examines three major themes, *viz.*, the role of the District Officer (D.O.) in the district, especially in regard to land administration and enforcement; the workings of local government based on an analysis of selected local councils, and some facets of the complex interrelationships between politics and administration in a developing society.

Beaglehole concentrates on Kelantan, a choice dictated by its 'peculiar combination of . . . administrative and political factors' (p 3). Kelantan was ruled by the *Partai Islam* (Islamic Party) and it had its own civil service (Kelantan Civil Service). Uniqueness, if actual in substance,[1] carries with it the inherent disadvantage, from an analytical and academic viewpoint, of extraordinary circumstances not found in the general population. This, then, is both the weakness in the book as well as its strong point. At any rate, Kelantan is now safely in the folds of the *Barisan Nasional* (National Front), but the politics of national reconciliation does not automatically preclude friction and tension in local administration: they take on a different hue.

Beaglehole traces the feudalistic traditions of the Kelantan administration and analyses the changes wrought upon it by the incursions of colonial power. As in the other states of what was then called Malaya, its impact was to focus on the status of the district officer in his performance of the roles of law-and-order maintenance and revenue collection which was based on a rudimentary system of land assessment. The initial role of the D.O. (an administrative transplant from Colonial India) was largely undifferentiated in that a host of technical and other functions were also performed by him, mainly because of the absence of district level specialists. This aspect strengthened the 'generalist' image of the D.O. and, somewhat akin to its feudalistic roots in Kelantan, he administered his district with a degree of independence, authority and discretionary power seldom seen since.

Independence in 1957, with the smooth transfer of power to Malayans at once strengthened the power of the D.O. and subjected it to the flux of power politics and pressures of the new and changing development strategies. Where formerly the D.O. could perform his administrative roles without fear or favour, nascent local politics introduced strong pressures on his neutral and, hitherto, apolitical stature. Where development was concerned, a more positive and interventionist stand was assumed by the nationalist government to promote rural development. This emphasis placed heavy administrative burdens on the D.O. who, formerly, had a relatively well-defined portfolio of duties. Exacerbating these trends, as a result of the Emergency starting in 1948, the focal positon of the D.O. in the district attracted the added responsibility for security matters.

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[1] Trengganu, another East Coast State was, for a time, also under *Partai Islam;* other states (eg Kedah) also have their own civil service.

No longer, then, was district administration undifferentiated in its functions. In the initial stages when the technical services filtered down to the districts, the central position of the D.O. was unchallenged by the new specialists, whose major disadvantage was their late arrival on the scene and their segmental responsibility to the district's population. Inter-departmental co-ordination within a district was then viable and attainable, at least in the earlier stages of development. However, when the new development strategies became plans to be administered and executed at district level, the co-ordinating role of the D.O. was undercut by the heavier responsibility of and greater resources available to the specialist departments and by the creation of the new statutory bodies (like the Federal Land Development Authority) charged with specific developmental functions. The generalist role of the D.O. has assumed new dimensions consistent with the changing environment, metamorphosing a passive administrator into an agent of development and change. Coincidental with this process, the administrative supremacy of the D.O. has been affected by the burgeoning roles of the technical departments and the establishment of the newer statutory bodies, each charged with a specific sector of responsibility. It is the interplay of these forces that will impinge upon and define the role of the D.O. in an environment of change and growth. It is within this area of development administration that more work will clearly have to be undertaken in order to see the consequences of de-centralization in a developing environment.

Political changes, as much as developmental strategies, are related to the changing position and influence of the D.O. The supreme role of the D.O. and the imperatives of participatory democracy brought into sharp relief his semi-autocratic position. The Local Authorities Election Ordinance of 1950 was intended to provide for local government throughout the country which would have resulted in a severe diminution in the power of the D.O. or even his supercession. However, while on the one hand, the D.O. may have been perceived as an administrative anachronism, experimentation with local government and local councils only reflected the dangers of administrative re-structuring prompted more by democratic idealism than a sensible appreciation of the needs of a developing society. At least for the moment, the question of a change over to local councils is closed as the federal government has suspended local council elections.

In examining the role of the D.O. *vis-a-vis* another political change, ie the local politician himself, Beaglehole provides a cogent analysis of the erosion in the D.O.'s status brought about by the appearance of a competing conduit of power between the local citizen and government. This leads to perhaps the highpoint of Beaglehole's analysis: an attempt to determine the future of decentralizing tendencies in the federal government structure. Beaglehole's analysis is viewed largely on the basis of the Royal Commission of Enquiry to Investigate into the Workings of Local Authorities in West Malaysia and its arguments against the D.O.-type of field administration. While the Commission's arguments seem logical, no viable alternatives are offered and, so, by default, in effect, one is forced to agree with Beaglehole for the maintenance of the status quo. This leaves unresolved the question of the 'optimum' conditions governing the relationship between politicians and the D.O. The experience of other countries with a strong, established and independent civil

service has indicated a clear demarcation of administrative and political authority. In the case of Malaysia, one must assume, unlike Beaglehole, that the correct relationship will be evolved over time rather than be attained by political or government fiat. The presumption, of course, is that the democratic underpinnings of Malaysian society will remain unshaken in the future.

L. J. FREDERICKS

Cadastral surveys within the Commonwealth, P. F. DALE, *HMSO*, 1976; £4.35.

The wealth of footnotes in this extremely well-researched book, reflects the large number of articles and departmental publications on the subject of cadastres and cadastral surveys. These studies deal with individual countries, however, and apart from the work of Dowson and Sheppard (*Land registration*, 1952, HMSO) revised and enlarged by Simpson (*Land law and registration*, 1976, Cambridge) there has been no attempt to make any comparison or review of the differing principles and processes of cadastral survey in a number of countries. That it is Commonwealth countries which have been chosen for this Ministry of Overseas Development study is explained by the general vigour of the 'land survey industry' in such countries and the regular meetings of the Conference of Commonwealth Survey Officers. It was the 1967 conference which spawned the Simpson study and the 1971 meeting which stimulated this review of the problems of cadastral survey in the differing environmental and institutional environments of Commonwealth countries with emphasis given to the methods of setting out, 'and costs and efficiency of marking, surveying and recording land parcels.' (p xiv).

The material upon which the study has been based was assembled from the comprehensive bibliographical sources in the United Kingdom, but mainly from information supplied by 72 survey organisations out of the 120 approached. 17 Commonwealth countries were also visited by the author.

The implementation of a cadastral survey reflects a wish by administrators and those with a recognised right to property to order and organise space. The registration of land has both legal and fiscal implications, and it has long had a political dimension as it can be a basis for revenue assessments and therefore for a relationship between the individual citizen and state government as well as between individual proprietors.

The book covers comprehensively the terminology of the subject and discusses the range of definitions and interpretations of such terms as 'boundaries', 'cadastral systems' and 'boundary descriptions.' Methods of surveying and the keeping of survey records are reviewed and compared and attempts made to assess the relative costs of ground survey and photogrammetric methods. Intangible features, impossible to cost are the prejudices against an unfamiliar method such as photogrammetry and the difficulties encountered in the field, highlighted by the wry quotation from a survey officer in Nigeria, 'how much more desirable one would imagine it would be, particularly in Moslem communities where the Purdah

system is still practised, to simply visit the site and, in the company of the applicant, photo-identify the corners of his property (p 253). Much difficult and descriptive roof-top triangulation would be avoided.'

Because land records are of interest to many individuals and a wide range of government departments the wish to incorporate principles of 'integrated surveys' is given attention. The extra information needed may concern aspects of land quality of importance to departments concerned with matters as diverse as taxation, agriculture, transport or even defence. In order to cope with the burgeoning need for information relating to particular parcels many departments of land registration have devised systems of data structure consistent with computer storage and retrieval of information. One dramatic example of the successful application of such data processing methods is documented for Peninsular Malaysia, 'where 10 years of backlog of checking was cleared in almost as many months' (p 259).

Some readers might have expected to see rather more tabulated information showing for example the proportion of national areas covered by systematic land registration or a comparison of the costs of the survey operations in the various countries. The author is perhaps wise to make 'no attempt . . . to evaluate one system against another' (p 200) for as he points out 'the social and economic conditions between countries are more diverse than their approaches to the cadastre'. (p 201).

The book has a very useful glossary but lacks an index. This frustrated the reviewer when seeking reference to areas of particular interest; for example Malta, where land registration is tangled in a web of legal and political vested interests. It came as no surprise that Malta had not been included as a case study. The substantial section on India was easy to find, and provided a valuable summary of the development of the land registration system. It omitted, however, to emphasise that the land revenue aspect was no longer significant since the levels of tax assessment had long been overtaken by the 1970 inflation, never mind the dramatic increases of the recent past. The study will remain, however, an important reference document for those wishing to gain insight into the work of departments of land registration in the widely differing environmental, economic and social circumstances of Commonwealth countries.

J. A. ALLAN

Economics for a Developing World, MICHAEL P. TODARO, *Longman,* 1977, pp 444; £3.50 paperback.

Why should an economics textbook for the 'developing world' differ from one for the 'developed world'? There seem to be two major reasons: firstly, the problems which face the developed world are in many ways so different that the theories designed to provide solutions to these problems are of little relevance to the developing world. Secondly, the context within which western economic theories, and their policy implications, are derived is so different that considerable doubt is cast on the general validity of their implicit or explicit assumptions and hence on the theories themselves.

In that case, can a western economist have anything useful to say about the developing world? The answer (or at least that which most western economists would propose) is that economics consists essentially of a set of analytical tools which can be usefully applied in a wide range of contexts to provide insights into a multiplicity of problems. The practitioner must be aware that the results produced by these analytical tools are not necessarily of general application, but may well be specific to the problem and to the context. This does not, however, invalidate the general application of the tools to different situations, provided that the practitioner is sufficiently discerning and skilled in their use.

This appears to be Michael Todaro's position. As a result he condemns the fact that the 'few textbooks that have been developed for use by students in poor nations have invariably used the same conceptual approaches and the same sets of principles and problems as those intended for their counterparts in rich countries.' (He admits, with commendable honesty, that he himself was guilty of 'inappropriate modification' of western economic theory in an earlier textbook for students in Africa of which he was co-author).

In *Economics for a Developing World* he attempts to resolve this dilemma. The analytical tools of economics are applied to the problems of the developing world in order to demonstrate their use. Two difficulties arise, neither of which is fully resolved. Firstly, it is difficult to differentiate clearly between concept and theory – thus the concept of marginal product can be defined, but only takes on meaning for the student when it is applied in order to establish a theory. In some instances the resulting theory is inappropriate in a developing country situation. This is carefully pointed out by the author, sometimes leaving the student with little more than a sense of frustration. For example, after discussing the concept of the production function the author describes its basic drawback which 'derives from its failure to give adequate attention to those institutional and structural aspects of social systems in developing nations which may turn out to be the most important determinants of how much output is obtainable from a given quantity or combination of inputs'.

The western student of economics may be protected against such harsh realities until his second or even third year. This is not to say that the simplified models of western theory are wholly valid, but the credibility gap is that much narrower. Until economics becomes more indigenous to the developing world this problem will remain. Perhaps this book will make some contribution to its long term solution.

The second difficulty which the book does not fully resolve is one of presentation. What combination of analysis and description, of problems and policies is appropriate? Should these be inextricably intertwined or separated by the use of section headings or relegation to footnote and appendix? The book contains, in parts, a rather unhappy juxtaposition of different elements. This may account for another problem which is the variation in level. In places the text seems appropriate for a 13-year-old – in others quite complex concepts are summarised

in a few compact sentences. Simplicity, of itself, is no vice, but there is some merit in maintaining a consistent level throughout the book.

Until recently there was undoubtedly a serious lack of suitable texts for the economics student in developing countries. A number of writers have lately sought to make good this deficiency, with varying degrees of success. Despite the limitations of this book it is a useful addition to the literature. It discusses the most important issues (rapid population growth, income inequalities, dependence, land reform, rural-urban migration, international terms of trade etc) and provides some interesting, if rather crude, statistics of international comparisons. Each chapter ends with a summary of concepts for review, questions for discussion and well-chosen further reading (often from recent journals). The author manages to present more than one side to each case and, with few exceptions, to conceal any bias he may have. Although this publication is no Lipsey or Samuelson of the developing world it can be recommended, with only minor reservations, until such a book finally emerges.

DESMOND MCNEILL

The Civil Service in Great Britain, S. R. MAHESHWARI; *Concept Publishing Company, Delhi,* 1976, pp 139, incl. Appendix. Rupees 30.

Dr. Shiram E. Maheshwari is Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi. He has written this study of the British Civil Service partly because 'the administrative system of India was designed by the British and the model all along was British public administration' (p 113) and he thinks public administration students in India should know more about recent developments in Britain, and partly because Britain is a developed country and 'many of the institutions and practices of the developed countries are being recommended for adoption in the gradually developing countries' (p 114). He was sponsored by the I.I.P.A. to visit Britain in 1975, which enabled him to have discussions with a large number of senior civil servants in the Civil Service Department, HM Treasury, the Civil Service College, the Civil Service Commission, the Civil Service Pay Research Unit and the office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration. He also met some individuals in various institutions concerned with the study and teaching of public administration in Britain. The author is, therefore, a well-established leading Indian scholar, who set out with a clear conception of his purpose to write a book in his special field and who had the opportunity to make many valuable contacts in the country about which he was writing. I was keen to read this book, to find out what factors in the British Civil Service the author felt most important from his perspective, and what conclusions and recommendations he was making for both India and Britain from his comparative study. Unfortunately, I found it disappointing.

First, I was disappointed because the book is insufficiently rigorous. The author is apparently unaware of the large amount of recently published literature on the British Civil Service, he makes a few footnote references, mainly to government

publications but none to recent books or articles on the Civil Service, and provides no bibliography. He refers to various official reports (with large quotations from the Assheton and Priestley Reports, and his Appendix is a complete reprinting of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report), and although he has been impressed with the Fulton Report he makes no reference to the research projects sponsored by the Fulton Committee or those conducted since the Fulton Report was published. Also, the balance of the book is rather odd. In a text of eleven chapters amounting to a total of only 114 pages some of the chapters are entitled 'Method I and Method II of Recruitment', 'Administration Trainees', 'British Ombudsman', 'Principle and Practice of Salary Fixation' and 'Whitleyism in the Civil Service'. One might have expected more attention to an overall perspective and to such topics as the roles of professionals and their relationship to administrators and deconcentration of staff (well over half of British civil servants no longer work in London). Instead, while the book gives the impression of being a general survey of recent development, it in fact gives disproportionate attention to Administration Trainees, and although it provides a gloss on such new institutions as the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration and the organisation of the Civil Service Department, it raises no questions of fundamental importance about their impact on public administration in Britain.

Secondly, I was disappointed in what I read of Britain and the British Civil Service from Professor Maheshwari's comparative perspective. This is because the author is superficial, emphasises facets to which I attach questionable importance, and he is so consistently uncritical. Some examples will illustrate this. 'After a lapse of one hundred and fourteen years it was the historic task of the Fulton Committee to rescue the British Civil Service, among others, from the obsessive cult of generalism' (p 13). 'In Great Britain a watch is not a mere piece of decoration but an utter functional necessity. Every citizen is deeply aware of the time and punctuality is universally observed' (p 109). 'The functionary called 'P.A.' (Personal Assistant in India) is called 'Secretary' in Great Britain. Each officer has a secretary 'attached' to him and the secretary is almost always a lady there . . . The convention is that she even prepares tea for the officer. Also, it is the secretary who first receives the visitors and no doubt with a becoming smile on her face. Indeed, the institution of secretary contributes greatly to the efficiency of the officer – in addition, of course, to radiating charm in the office' (p 111). 'Today, a young person in Britain, as in many other countries, is by temperament left-of-the-centre and prefers employment in the Government as it promises him greater sense of social fulfilment. To overcome this apathy, the private sector deliberately designs its salary structure so attractively that young persons possessing the necessary competence may continue to be lured to it. As soon as the salary scale in the Civil Service gets broadly equated with that in the private sector with due regard to the principle of fair comparison the private sector sets out to raise its salary scale further to keep the lure undiminished' (p 85).

All this and much more was disappointing and rather depressing, as much because the author has missed or bungled so many opportunities as because he is misleading. He accepts the Fulton Committee's criticism about the too frequent movement

of staff without mentioning that this apparent defect may be one of the most important safeguards against corruption, he is so generous and approving that he seems unaware that often the most important lessons from comparative studies are to be derived not from examples of what may be copied but from analyses of failures and shortcomings and how they may be avoided, and when he makes comparisons he no-where refers to good features of the Indian Civil Service (surely there must be some?) that might be helpful if introduced in Britain or other countries.

RICHARD A. CHAPMAN

Abidjan - Urban Development and Employment in the Ivory Coast; HEATHER JOSHI, HAROLD LUBELL and JEAN MOULY; *ILO London;* pp 115; £6.65 hardback, £4.45 paperback.

The ILO's World Employment Programme, launched in 1969 to mark the Organisation's fiftieth anniversary, includes research in urbanisation and employment as a major element. By any standards Abidjan is one of the world's most impressive young cities which owes a great deal to careful planning and orderly development as well as geographical location. It is easy to see in the success story of Abidjan over the last 25 years parallels with the equally remarkable story of Singapore in the first half of the 19th century and it must be a moot point whether an ILO study of Singapore with its longer history would not have proved to be of more general value but as the report itself states the ILO has no wish to encourage unjustified generalisations from its series of city case studies. Calcutta, Sao Paulo and Jakarta have already been the subject of reports in the series so that Africa's turn was clearly overdue and Abidjan an appropriate choice.

It has taken two years and more from completion of the work to achieve publication; as this represents a significant proportion of Abidjan's existence as a city it is to be hoped the city authorities had access to it long before the rest of us. In one way and another nearly one-half of the report is devoted to migration and while there can be little doubt that so long as Abidjan can maintain its dynamism it will remain an attraction to people elsewhere in the Ivory Coast and neighbouring territories, this does seem disproportionate. Considerable attention is also given, in accordance with current ILO dogma, to the 'informal sector' which has importance in relation to the utilisation of manpower. In contrast, social problems of population pressure are touched upon only very briefly and the 'formal sector' which provides about 70 per cent of Abidjan's employment enjoys no special treatment.

Nor is the report very strong on recommendations. The few positive recommendations made seem to be in support of policies already pursued, such as (i) the development of areas in the Ivory Coast other than Abidjan, namely specific urban areas and the rural areas in general, and (ii) a programme of systematic training of Ivory Coast nationals to substitute non-African expatriates. The central question, for whom should employment be created, is posed as a question to which, by implication, the ILO does not wish to provide any answer and this is understandable.

In accordance with the ILO's usual practice, the report cites impressive statistics to decimal fractions which suggest a much higher degree of accuracy than the circumstances probably justify. When the population of the Ivory Coast's second largest town can be only 'variously estimated at 100,000, 115,000 and 150,000' it hardly seems right, for example, to assert '40.8 per cent of the residents of all urban areas in the Ivory Coast were foreign Africans'. These minor criticims apart, and subject to the general observation that we would have liked to see more positive recommendations, it looks to be a useful study on a most impressive city.

DAVID GOODWIN

Traditional Ideology and Ethics among the Southern Luo, A. B. C. OCHOLLA-AYAYO; *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala*, 1976; pp 238.

In this comprehensive study of the moral and political categories of the Luo of western Kenya, Dr. Ocholla-Ayayo, himself a Luo, manages to give a very adequate account of the main social and cultural institutions of one of Kenya's two major ethnic groups. Something of the book's scope may be indicated by a brief summary.

It begins with a discussion, perhaps a little long-winded, of 'basic concepts and definitions', and goes on to offer us a preliminary outline of Luo philosophy, which the author sums up in a list of twenty 'premises of Luo reasoning' (p 42). In Chapter 2 he gets down to brass tacks with an account of some central moral values of the Luo; the most important of these is courage (*chir*), but such associated virtues as generosity and hospitality are emphasized too. In the next chapter Traditional methods of socialization are considered. These include the social sanction of ridicule (wrongdoers are the subject of derisive songs composed by neighbours), the widespread didactic use of proverbs, riddles and stories, and physical punishment. Chapter 4 discusses methods of dispute settlement, and of maintaining social cohesion, the most important factors in the latter context being 'family, age-set and Luoism' (sic).

Chapter 5 contains a first-rate analysis of traditional forms of land tenure; of particular interest is the author's discussion of the effects of British colonial values in modifying the indigenous (and, by officials, insufficiently understood) system of 'client' (*jadok*) tenure.

After a chapter on marriage, Dr. Ocholla-Ayayo turns to consider (Chapter 7) the remarkable diversity of ritual specialists to be found among the Luo. As elsewhere, the powers and paraphernalia of what missionaries and administrators in colonial times generally lumped together as 'witchcraft' were traditionally sometimes used for socially approved purposes. In the next chapter Luo ideas of idivinity are unravelled, and various kinds of spiritual beings are distinguished.

Chapter 9 brings us back, by way of a discussion of traditional Luo political organization, to the topic of social structure. The author argues, convincingly I think, that Luo political institutions involved – partly as a consequence of the history of Luo expansion – a much larger degree of political centralization than

most earlier writers recognized. Even the most eminent of these had tended, doubtless in reaction against the even earlier view that all African 'tribes' and despotic rulers, to represent the 'chiefs' (when any could be discerned in the segmentary societies of which the Lwoo-speaking peoples are the classic examples) as being even more lacking in political power and authority than they really were.

After a concluding chapter the book ends with four appendices, of which the most interesting are the lists of Luo proverbs and moral injunctions (Appendices 2 and 3). Appendix 4 repeats, with one minor modification, the 'premises of Luo reasoning' listed earlier.

Dr. Ocholla-Ayayo's English is very shaky in places, and quotations are sometimes carelessly transcribed (a whole line is missing from one on p 33, to the evident detriment of the sense). But his book, which is rich in extremely readable ethnography, is to be warmly welcomed. It successfully blends an authentic 'inside' view of a major East African culture with the (relatively) objective approach of the trained social scientist.

JOHN BEATTIE

Attention is drawn to an error in the last paragraph of Professor Dix's review of *The Home of Man* by Barbara Ward, which appeared in our July number, pp 197-8, which should of course read . . . 'the earth's abundant but *not* unlimited supply of resources' . . .

Book Notes

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, has published four new Research Reports on which the following brief comments are made.

RESEARCH REPORT NO 35

The Voice of South Africa, by AKE MAGNUSSON, pp 55.

The Author provides a brief survey of the use made by the South African Government, of international radio communications in order to project its own image. While he finds that the 'Voice of South Africa' rated highly in the popularity polls conducted by major short wave radio stations, nonetheless he concludes with the information that the South Africa radio has now reduced the scope of its overseas broadcasts.

RESEARCH REPORT NO 36

Reflections on Law and Economic Integration in East Africa, by YASH P GHAI, pp 47.

At a time when the East African Community is so very near to breaking up, and the recovery achieved from previous crises seemingly improbable, these reflections, alas, can provide little more than an arid and largely academic debate. This is a pity as Yash Ghai's conclusions are sensible enough and had they been heeded in recent years by the member states, the present confrontation (with East Africa's admirable Airways sadly no more) would have been less acute. But however sensible the draftsmen might have been and however willing the member states might have been to be open about inevitable community conflict, could a *lasting* realistic basis for co-operation have been achieved while each of the three pursued such differing political philosophies, forms of Government and individualistic ambitions?

RESEARCH REPORT NO 37

Transitional Companies in Liberia, by JERKER CARLSSON, pp 51.

Jerker Carlsson points out that the late President Tubman's 'Open Door' policy for foreign investment as the 'motor in the development process' is unique in Africa, most of whose newly-independent countries look with suspicion at foreign investors. The author does not see the developmental process being activated through foreign companies and he would like to see 'the potential possibilities inherent in (these companies) released via integration in an active well-defined development policy'.

RESEARCH REPORT NO 38

Towards Socialism and Self Reliance, by REGINALD HERBOLD GREEN, pp 57.

Of the short Research Reports reviewed here, Reg Green's alone achieves literary merit. This is a well written over-view of Tanzania's present policies by an economist with practical Tanzanic experience and a perception of human needs and human values. He is also a political theorist and while his integrity ensures that he does not accept actions or policies unquestioningly, he may perhaps be carrying his idealism rather too far, and perhaps he reads a little more than is necessary into the togetherness which is *ujamaa* in the rural countryside and self-reliance which is, in the main, a national policy of family spartan self-control.

Shaping To-morrow, PAUL GERIN-LAJOIE; *Canadian International Development Agency*, pp 23.

This monograph, published in English and French, contains an address by the President of CIDA to the Vienna Institute for Development in the autumn of 1975,

in which he outlined Canada's new 'Strategy for International Development, 1975-80'. This strategy he explains centres upon five major themes:

- the sharing of wealth - distribution aimed at helping the poorest members of the human family,
- self-reliance,
- creativity and innovation,
- new types of relationships between nations,
- collective participation of social groups in World development.

The general approach is in fact very close to that set out in the British Government White Paper on Aid to the Poorest, and indeed both countries have a similar approach to technical co-operation.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 75/1: **The Unemployment Crisis in the Third World,** DHARAM GHAI.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 75/2: **Transnational Corporations and Employment in Latin America,** RICARDO BOLIVAR-VELEZ.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 75/3: **The International Division of Labour and of Benefits in Food and Agriculture,** K. C. ABERCROMBIE.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 75/4: **Towards the New International Economic Order,** SHRIDATH S. RAMPHILL.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 75/5: **The New Order of World Economy and the Powers of Development,** PETER MARDI.

ASPECTS ECONOMIQUES ET POLITIQUES D'UN NOUVEL ORDER ECONOMIQUE INTERNATIONAL, PAUL-MARE HENRY. *Published by the Vienna Institute for Development.*

Dharam Ghai's paper, originally a lecture, sets out briefly the ILO thinking on Third World unemployment, from which emerged some 18 months later, the Basic Needs Approach adopted at the Tripartite World Conference on Employment, held in Geneva; in contrast Ricardo Bolivar-Velez is emotive and draws conclusions based, one suspects, on political theology rather than proven facts.

K. C. Abercrombie points out that while the developed countries consume a disproportionately large share of the world's agricultural production, yet with their relatively small populations and small labour forces they are responsible for some 60% of world production. On cereal imports for livestock feed he points again at the high consumption by developed countries, particularly Russia. He stresses the problem of feeding a world population on which the family planning programmes will have little effect until the end of the century, and he sees 'international agricultural adjustment' as a means of providing both increased employment and a much greater degree of self-sufficiency in food, in the Third World.

Shridath Ramphel, in firm, measured terms, presents the clear, unarguable case for *all* developed countries, from the East as from the West, to fulfil their obligation to contribute effectively towards ending international poverty. This is a powerful, finely written paper which one hopes has had a wide circulation among the international community on whom, particularly the policy-makers of the industrialised world, it should have forceful impact. The eradication of poverty, he concludes, 'is a world issue that concerns the quality of life of a large section of humanity . . . it is fast becoming an issue of global survival'.

In comparison Peter Mardi's paper on the same theme is prosaic and adds little to an argument already put so admirably by Shridath Ramphill.

Further emphasis on the New International Economic Order is added by Paul-Mare Henry who quotes from a speech by Dr Kissinger, 'For some time the technical capacity has existed to provide a tolerable standard of life for the world's four billion people, but we, the world community must shape the political will to do so'. Resources expended on exploring outer space, one reflects, might have gone quite a long way towards alleviating much Third World poverty.

The European Communities and the Rule of Law, Lord MACKENZIE STEWART; *Stevens, London,* 1977. pp 125, £1.95.

The volume contains the 1977 Hamlyn Trust lecture, delivered by the author, a Judge of the European Communities Court of Justice, who back in 1963 pronounced that 'the Community constitutes a new legal order . . . for the benefit of which the States have limited their sovereign rights'. Lord Stewart sets out with commendable clarity the courts

powers and limits and the judicial process by which it operates. He emphasises that the Community is based on law, that the court functions in conformity with the law based on the Treaties which member states have signed. In particular, he stresses that the Community 'rule of law' (as he sensibly prefers to describe it in English terms) depends on as much of the regulatory power as possible being expressed in terms of 'right' rather than of discretion.

African Perspectives - White Minorities/Black Majorities, V FEBRUARY (Ed.): *African Study Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands;* bibliography; pp 135.

This is a special number dealing solely with Southern Africa and highlighting once more the evils of South African apartheid and the intransigence of Ian Smith's Rhodesian Government. The editor refers to the compilation of this volume as being 'emotionally disturbing at times' - this one can readily appreciate as one reads through the sad, sorry, sordid stories of colour and racial prejudice.

Walter Nash, KEITH SINCLAIR; *Oxford University Press;* illustrated, bibliography and index; pp 439; £12.50.

Keith Sinclair says that he has only written 'a' and not 'the' biography of Walter Nash. This perhaps has helped him to produce an honest, straightforward well balanced story about a Birmingham lad who emigrated to New Zealand; faced set backs in business; read hard; became very quickly a leading member of his adopted country's Labour Party; held high office; became premier at 66; shortly before his death he was speaking, aged 86, at the annual conference of the party he had served so long and so devotedly through a volatile political era in New Zealand's political history: it was typical of his philosophy that as a veteran, of Vietnam he said a hospital not artillery should be provided.

Much earlier whilst still a rising politician he advised a would-be political candidate 'cultivate self control . . . follow . . . right purposes without giving too much thought to the consequences to yourself . . . cultivate the habit of thinking . . . study . . . remember (your opponent's) thoughts are worth examining and may be right'.

Walter Nash had control over New Zealand's economy during a particularly difficult period, especially just before World War II when Montague Norman proved the ally of whom he was in great need.

This is a first-class biography of a New Zealand statesman of international calibre.

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